

University of South Wales



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Press Freedom In Qatar

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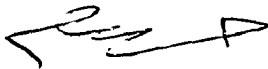
DECLARATION

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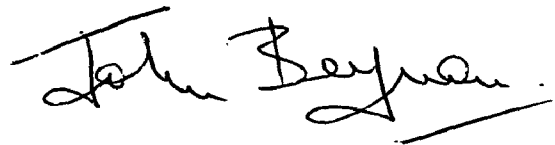
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ABSTRACT

This thesis considers freedom of the press in Qatar pre1995 and post 1995 the year the Amir abolished press censorship. It uses a combination of different methods, a literature review, a questionnaire and unstructured interviews, to investigate the subject. It looks at different theories of the press and attitudes toward freedom of the press and how they are applied in the western and Arab worlds and uses these to assess the current position in Qatar. It presents Qatari journalists' and media employees' opinions of the pre and post 1995 positions and it concludes that the situation is one of evolution from a strongly authoritarian model of the press to a less authoritarian one. Finally, it reflects on this research and makes recommendations for future research.

DEDICATION

To

My mother, Mana. My father, Ghassab

My brother, Nasser. My sisters

My wife, Moudhi.

My sons, Triki, Nasser, Ghassab.

Thank you for having an important effect,
for your support, encouragement, and patience.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1.Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the subject of this thesis. It firstly discusses freedom of expression in general and then the freedom of the press in Qatar. Next, it considers the aims, objectives and significance of the study. Finally, it outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.2.Aims of the study

This study has four main aims. Firstly, it provides a review of current literature on the media in Qatar. Secondly, it analyses the origins and nature of the effects of the abolition of censorship on the freedom of the press (see section 6.2 in chapter six). Thirdly, the study makes an assessment of the impact of this abolition of censorship on the newspaper press. Finally, it offers a critical evaluation of these developments in the context of wider academic debates on freedom of the press in the USA, the UK, Europe and the Arab countries.

1.3.Significance of the study

To date, there has not been sufficient, if any, research into the freedom of the press in Qatar. There have been few published studies of the media in Qatar. These are four objective studies which have been carried out in relation to journalism in Qatar. The first was conducted by Mohammed and Saif Alden (1981). This study was concerned with the birth and development of the press in Qatar. The second study was by AL-Dosogy, A. Lasheen, A. Abdal-Raheem, A. and Ganeem, A. (1984). This study dealt with the rise of the press in Qatar, its content and its contribution to Qatar nationalism, Arab unity, Gulf security and its affairs, and the Palestinian problem. The third study by AL-

Ibrahim, (1988), concentrated on the history of the media in the Arabian Gulf with reference to Qatar and focused on all the mass media sectors in Qatar. The author concluded that the media had tried to follow the government's direction. In addition to that he also mentioned that there was not freedom of press in Qatar. The fourth study was carried out by Essa (1995). This study was concerned with historical and technical elements in the media in Qatar. However, none of these earlier studies had fully investigated the question of freedom of the press in Qatar. The present study supplements these accounts and also examines the applicability of the four theories of the press as developed by Siebert, F. Peterson, T. and Schram W. (1978). The research also compares aspects of press freedom in western countries with those in the Arab countries, and finally with the situation in Qatar. It is a pioneering attempt to empirically investigate the impact of press freedom on the Qatari newspapers since 1995, the year of the abolition of censorship.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters including the Introduction. The second chapter discusses the methodology used in the study. It also outlines the subject of the study, its objectives and the key research questions. It focuses on three approaches: the literature review and two methodological approaches quantitative research and qualitative research. It discusses the pilot study and the implementation of the questionnaire and interviews. Having discussed the methodology, the third chapter considers freedom of the press in Western countries, and provides some definition of freedom of expression. It then outlines four theories of the press (Siebert, et.al; 1978) and examines models of press freedom in Western democracies. It focuses on some discrepancies between countries where press freedom is understood as a 'positive right' and others where it is understood as a 'negative right'. The next chapter discusses the freedom of the press in Arab countries. This is done using two key categories: 'strongly authoritarian' states and 'less authoritarian' ones. The fifth chapter provides a general introduction to the geography climate, demographic structure, language, economic and social structure of Qatar, before and after the discovery of oil. It outlines the structure of the government and the way in which information has traditionally been managed in Qatar. It also briefly

examines the nature of the press before 1995. The sixth chapter focuses on the Qatari press and media after 1995. The seventh chapter looks at the general development of Qatari newspapers. It outlines and analyses data collected in relation to the impact of the press on journalism. It covers the impact of the changes on questions of press freedom, politics, government, economics, morals and religion. The final chapter summarises and analyses the major findings of the empirical research. It also reflects on the choice of topic, the methodologies and methods selected to obtain the data to answer the questions raised by the study. It considers how the data was collected and any accompanying problems and how these affected the research, if at all, and their solutions. It also the candidate express how he has benefited from the experience in holistic terms and finally, it makes recommendations and suggestions for further study.

Chapter Two Methodology

2.1.Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methods and methodologies used for this study. It outlines the subject and identifies the key research questions. It describes the research plan and then looks at the construction and conduct of the literature review. It also discusses the selection of the methods and methodologies and discusses why a combination of methods was used. It then looks at the construction, the implementation and the analysis of the questionnaire and the interview. It then outlines the key changes to the questionnaire after the pilot run, and finally, there is a conclusion.

2.2.Research questions

This study focuses on a number of key questions. Firstly, what are the salient characteristics of the idea of press freedom? Secondly, how is press freedom applied in Western democracies? Thirdly, how does the idea of press freedom relate to Arab countries? These questions provide a context for those relating to Qatar as detailed below. Firstly, what are the origins and nature of the abolition of censorship with regards to press freedom in Qatar? (Anon, 1995a: 5). Secondly, what was the impact of the abolition of censorship on the press in Qatar? This includes its relationship to press freedom, and the coverage of politics, governments, economics, morals and religious issues as understood by a sample of practising journalists in the State of Qatar. Finally, how does the model of press freedom in Qatar relate to models in operation in the Arab world and in Western countries (Europe and the USA)?

2.3. The research plan

The research plan consisted of four main parts. These were, firstly, the formulation of the main questions (see the section above), which this research has addressed. Secondly, background reading leading to a focused literature review. Thirdly, the selection, piloting and implementation of the methods and methodologies used to obtain and analyse the data to answer the above mentioned questions and finally the planning of the overall timetable leading to the submission of the finished work. Each of these was arrived at by close consultation with the researcher's supervisor and most of them involved a process of review and refinement.

The research questions in section 2.2 were arrived at due to a combination of factors but primarily due to the researcher's work in the Qatari media. It was thought that this would facilitate obtaining the necessary introductions in order to implement the research methods and methodologies. The questions and forthcoming answers were considered to be vital, as they would indicate the state of the press in Qatar after 1995 and had not been posed before.

The literature review was planned in two stages; general background reading and a focused literature review. Berger, (2000: 21) stated that:

" We generally make library searches to gain as much information as we can about a given subject before narrowing down the focus for our particular research project. Because research demands a good deal of resourcefulness and energy, and in some cases is so difficult, we have to find manageable topics to deal with. Library searches can also be used to help provide readers of your research with background information, with a sense of context ".

University library inter-loan facilities were used. A search of Internet sites was also employed using at first general terms, which were later refined to more specific ones. These sites can be seen in the bibliography section. One year was allocated for this stage of the work bearing in mind the researcher's linguistic competence.

As a result of the literature review the research methods and methodologies were devised and piloted. The distinction between these two terms in the area of communications research is that a methodology is a general approach to acquiring data, for example, whereas a method is the instrument used to obtain that data. In this case, as in many examples of research into the media, the methods chosen were a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, (section 2.3.2). The corresponding instruments were a structured questionnaire and an unstructured interview (Hansen, A. Cottle, S. Negrine, R. Newbold, C. 1998: 10, 225, 257). They were not planned to be carried out concurrently. A period of over three months was allocated for the planning, piloting and implementation of the questionnaire.

A period of two months was allocated for the planning and implementation of the analysis of the data obtained from the questionnaires. It was envisaged that this stage would lead to the planning and implementation of the unstructured interviews. Three months were allocated for this work. Finally three months were allocated for the production and submission of the final draft. As the work proceeded, changes were made to the timeframe and these are reflected on in chapter eight.

2.3.1.Literature review

This research offers a review of the literature in the field. A literature review is a key component of any academic study. By reviewing ideas, positions and approaches from other sources, this review critically evaluates their relevance and significance for this study. As Hart argues, this method enables the researcher to demonstrate library and information skills. It also develops the researcher's ability to select relevant ideas and to assess the value of those ideas in context (1998:9). Moreover, Berger, (2000: 23) stated that:

" A literature review is a particular kind of library search. A literature review summarizes the major findings of scholars and researchers who have conducted research in the area you are interested in investigating. To do a literature search, you search through the library (including databases and the Internet) for articles, research reports, journals, and books on your

subject and offer a summary about what has been done in the particular area you investigating".

The literature review was conducted using keywords drawn from a range of data sources: examples of key words were: press freedom, freedom of the press, Arab democracy, Arab press, Arab media, Qatar, Qatar media, Qatar democracy, press freedom in the Arab world, press freedom in Europe and press freedom in the United States. These sources included library catalogues at Cardiff University Library, Glamorgan University Library, the Library of Congress, the British Library, the National Library of Wales, Qatar University Library and Qatar Public Library. In addition a variety of Internet sites were searched for journals, bibliographical and newspaper sources. A list of these addresses is given in the bibliography.

These facilities helped the researcher to access important information from a range of data sources across the web. Within six weeks the researcher received a list of relevant sources from different libraries using the inter-loan facility that the University of Glamorgan LRC provides.

However, using the Internet did not provide much detailed data relating to the freedom of press law in the Arab world and in Qatar, so the researcher visited some ministries in Qatar in search of relevant information. A fax was also sent to the embassies of neighbouring Arab countries inquiring about the latest press law in their respective countries. The only response he got was from the Omani Embassy with a copy of the 1984 law (see chapter four).

The existing literature relating to the freedom of the press was reviewed in an attempt to shed light on the models adopted in Western and Arab countries. This helped to put into context the system adopted in Qatar after 1995 when the press censorship law was abolished. It also helped identify whether Qatar had adopted a system similar to existing systems, or whether it had evolved a system that was a hybrid between those adopted in Western and those adopted in Arab countries.

The four existing studies on the Qatari press already mentioned in chapter one are in the light of this research inadequate. On the one hand they do provide an historical background to the development of the press in Qatar but the pace of this development was slow and indeed not comparable to the speed of development since 1995. Furthermore, it is unlikely that such research as this would be countenanced before 1995 because there had been no indication that censorship of the press would be abolished. Therefore the relevance of this prior research to this work is only to provide background information (see chapter one).

2.3.2. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods

In order to gain information about the actual impact of the abolition of censorship, it was decided to use a form of quantitative research. This was because the researcher wanted data that could be used to readily compare the different levels of impact of the abolition of censorship on different aspects of the press. Quantitative research according to Gunter entails a 'positivist' approach to knowledge. The positivist approach was initially used in the natural sciences but later social science research modified it to suit the purposes of that field. This approach involves the concept of quantification in which the phenomena are numerically measured and objectively analysed. Surveys and experiments are the main data-gathering techniques in the quantitative approach to social science (2000: 23). Generally, survey research, as a methodology has become one of the most frequently used ways of investigation in the social sciences (Babbie, 1992: 261). This is because the method provides statistically useful data, with the advantage of being both specific and suitable for analysis. It is also easily adapted to a wide variety of subjects. Quantitative methods use counts and measures. They describe, explain and are used to predict. They lead to hypotheses and theories. They are criticised for the fact that they only count certain parameters, not all and it may be that in certain areas of research important factors cannot be quantified. Thus such methods may not permit an in-depth exploration by the researcher nor do they allow, if used in the framework of an interview, the interviewee a free range of expression. These shortcomings and others can be overcome by qualitative methods.

Qualitative methods have the advantages of being interpretative and lead to evaluations. They allow a richness of response and the data obtained is open to close textual or discourse analyses. However they can be criticised for being too unfocussed, for being open to personal and therefore maybe biased interpretations and for producing unmanageable data. As Jensen (2002: 235) points out there are three commonly used methods used in qualitative research. These methods are named depending on the instruments used to collect the data; they are in-depth interviewing, observation and document or discourse analysis. The former of these is very commonly used in media and communications research. The reason is commonsensical: if you want to know what a group of people's opinion is about a specific topic ask them. Three types of in-depth interviewing are used in media research: respondent interviewing, naturalistic group interviews and constituted group interviews. The first type is used in this research to obtain data about one or more social or cultural categories (in this research the state of freedom of the press in Qatar). Information regarding these categories can be and was obtained from studying transcriptions of the respondents' utterances.

Given the disadvantages of the two methods mentioned in the previous section it is good practice to use both methods in order to complement the strengths and weaknesses of each. As Darlington and Scott, (2002: 49) have stated:

" In many cases, a combination of approaches will be indicated to answer different parts of the research question, or to provide an alternative data source that may serve to strengthen the overall findings. Very often the researcher will have to weigh up the pros and cons of a number of approaches and make the best choice available in the circumstances ".

Moreover, Jensen (2002: 272) also identifies three main types of combination of the two methodologies. The terms he uses to describe these three are facilitation, triangulation and complementary. The form used in this research was facilitative as the questionnaire and the interview were relatively separate stages of the research, as laid out in the section of the research plan. Indeed the interviews were devised and conducted after and as a result of the analysis of the questionnaire answers in order to obtain further data, to support incidences reflecting the censorship of the press prior and post 1995 and to supplement the information obtained from the questionnaire.

2.3.3. The questionnaire

The questionnaire is one of the most commonly used research tools in social surveys. It facilitates the collection of data from a wider respondent sample than is usually possible when other methods are employed (Sarantakos, 1993: 157-158; and Judd, C. M, Smith R. E. and Kidder L. H, 1991: 224). The questionnaire was designed, piloted and corrected before its final distribution. Copies of the questionnaire were submitted to journalists in five Qatari newspapers *AL-Watan*, *AL-Sharq*, *AL-Raya*, *The Gulf Times*, and *The Peninsula*. These are the only daily newspapers in Qatar. Thus the journalists were selected from these publications. Journalists were chosen for the survey because as a group they are well placed to make statements about the post 1995 changes in the press.

The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine the effect of the 1995 changes on the journalists' ideas, and to assess to what extent this change had affected their approach and focus; that is to provide a measure of the freedom this change had brought about. The questions were designed to achieve these ends, and were discussed with the researcher's supervisor.

A survey questionnaire was used to collect the data from respondents. The researcher resorted to the survey technique because of the lack of information in this particular area (see section 2.3.1). The questionnaire was divided into six main sections covering press freedom, politics, government, economics, morals, and religion. The questionnaire was developed in two languages, English and Arabic. The English version was a literal translation of the Arabic one. After reliability and validity testing the researcher's supervisor approved the English version of the questionnaire. Including the cover page, the Arabic questionnaire ran to four pages with twenty four questions (see appendix two for the final questionnaire) and was the version used, since Arabic is the main language of the journalists.

A sample representing twenty five per cent of the permanent journalists working in the five daily Qatari newspapers was selected. The sample represents journalists distinguished in their work in the Qatari press, all specialising in various aspects of Qatari society. A total of forty journalists was selected as follows: ten journalists each from the *AL-Watan*, *AL-Sharq* and *AL-Raya* newspapers, making a total of thirty, and five journalists each from the *Gulf Times* and the *Peninsula*.

The first questionnaire was piloted to six journalists in February 2001. As a result of this exercise a number of changes were made to the questionnaire. Firstly, the questions were put into separate sections on press freedom, politics, government, economics, morals and religion. Secondly, the scale used to measure responses was changed to 1-5 rather than 1-10, to get a more accurate result. The 1-5 scale was based on the 'Matrix' questionnaire style, which is "*a method of organising a large set of rating questions that have the same response categories*" (Nachmias, 1996:258). This is a type of questionnaire that uses scales of 1 to 5, rather than yes or no, and where 1 means strongly disagree and 5 means strongly agree. This makes it easier to more fully analyse the information. Thirdly, it was decided to omit a section on how the reporting of sport had changed in the press after 1995 as this was thought to be unrelated to the main subject of this thesis. At the end of March 2001 the final questionnaire was ready and it was circulated it to forty respondents.

The respondents were requested to answer all the questions in the questionnaire in such a way that their own opinions were expressed without any restraint. The researcher also took down all the respondents' names in case of any queries. However most of the respondents requested to stay anonymous as they regarded their names as being irrelevant to the study. Some of the respondents frequently mislaid the questionnaire, thus the researcher resorted to leaving spare copies at the reception desks of the all five newspapers. It was also arranged for the respondents to leave their completed questionnaires at the reception desks for ease of collection by the researcher.

Finally, the responses of the 40 journalists were collected for each of the twenty four questions. Then a table was constructed with the journalists (1-40) listed vertically and the twenty four questions listed horizontally. The answers of the journalists were then placed in the table. Thus for each journalists there were twenty four answers (one for each question) ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Then a second table was constructed but this time the questions were listed vertically and the answers (1-5) were listed horizontally. In each box the researcher placed the number of journalists that selected the answer for that particular question. The researcher then divided the questions into five tables (tables 7.2-7.6). The five tables were: 'press freedom is freedom from...' which contained seven questions, 'political issues' containing five questions, 'government issues', with three questions, 'economic issues' three questions, and finally 'moral/religious issues with six questions (three moral and three religious). The researcher then used these tables to analyse the data, and to concentrate on the frequency of the answers.

2.3.4. The interview

The interview is a very quick way of successfully obtaining information concerning facts. According to Borg and Gall " *the interview situation usually permits much greater depth than the other methods of collecting research data*" (1979: 309-310). The researcher chose the unstructured interview as Reaves points out "*unstructured interviews are most useful when the area is new and the researcher is trying to get an idea of how it works*" (1992: 108). In this case interviews helped the researcher identify issues in an area which had previously remained relatively under researched.

The advantage of using open-ended questions in interviews is that they allow the respondents in a 'face-to-face' situation to say what they think. As Darlington and Acott. (2002: 48) mention:

" The general advantages of face-to-face interviews is that their immediacy and relational quality afford considerable flexibility to the data collection process, both in terms of areas explored and the direction of the discussion".

However, The disadvantages are that there is a problem in establishing a reasonable method of recording replies and furthermore interpreting data from unstructured interviews can be problematical. As Berger argues "*...it can be difficult to handle the enormous amounts of material that depth interviews can generate*" (1998: 57-58).

There are two specific reasons why an interview was used for this research. The first is the limited amount of material available on this topic as indicated by the literature review. The second reason is that information received from other sources in particular the Qatari government was minimal and of a basic and general nature. Furthermore, the researcher wanted to measure the depth of the changes after 1995 by looking for detailed examples (see chapters five and six) and the interview methodology proved the most appropriate. The questions were devised to investigate the role of censorship before and after 1995 and the position of the journalist in the light of the delay of the release of the new press law. They were deliberately loosely structured to allow for a relaxed response (see appendix four).

The structure of the interview consisted of six questions (see appendix four). The researcher divided them in to three parts. The first section was concerned with the effect of the 1979 press law. It contained two questions and the answers of these questions can be found under sections (5.4.2.1. and 5.4.2.2.) to support an incident in chapter five. Questions number three and four in the second part are concerned with the abolition of censorship and the answers can be found in sections (6.4.2 and 6.4.1.) to support an incident in chapter six. The third part of the interview dealt with the delay in issuing the press law after 1995. The answers to questions five and six can be found under section (6.5) to support an incident in chapter six.

Fewer respondents were used for the interview than for the questionnaire that is ten for the interview and forty for the questionnaire. The interviewees consisted of five newspaper journalists, three who were from the Qatari Radio and TV Corporation and two who were from the Department of Printing and Publishing. The researcher later added a journalist who had been imprisoned due to violating the censorship laws prior to 1995 making a total of eleven (see section 5.4.2.1 in chapter five).

As for the choice of media experts from the Qatari broadcasting and TV, they were recommended by working journalists. The criteria used to select the interviewees were; firstly, they all had at least more than 15 years experience working in the Qatari media. Secondly, they represented all areas of the Qatari media. Thirdly, they were all concerned about the effects of the 1995 changes and, lastly, they were willing and eager to participate in the interviews.

The interviews were not piloted for two reasons. Firstly the questionnaires were piloted, which covered the same areas, were piloted and secondly economic reasons, as this would have entailed a further trip to Qatar. When the questions had been formulated the researcher made phone calls to all respondents' offices to make appointments. When the arrangements had been made the researcher travelled to Doha to conduct the interviews. The researcher visited the offices of all the Qatari newspapers to introduce himself and his research and to ascertain whom he could interview. A letter of introduction from the University of Glamorgan was very useful as it facilitated the researcher to make arrangements for interviews. The Qatari Radio and TV Department, Qatar University Library, and the Qatari Department of Printing and Publishing were visited to obtain relevant data for his research. That was the second trip in the field study. Before the researcher started the interviews with respondents he introduced himself to the interviewees. The researcher requested their permission, which was given, to record the interviews. Most of them agreed that their answers and names could be used in this study without any restrictions. This was the only agreement made between the researcher and the interviewees. The interviewees understood that the researcher wanted their opinions and not imposed ones. But one of the interviewees had no objection to their names being used and so they were not asked to fill the prepared informed consent form. The sole objection was that in similar interviews, held for other purposes, names had not been used therefore no reason was seen to use names in this interview.

The researcher spent a total of thirty five hours to do all the interviews. The time spent on each interview can be broken down as follows: pre-interview time consisted of thirty minutes spent waiting before the interview. During interview time consisted of one hour with each interviewee. Each hour consisted of fifteen minutes introduction and forty five minutes recording. Post interview time consisted of forty five minutes listening to the tape recording and a further thirty minutes to identify some specific discourse containing pertinent information. Finally, thirty minutes to transcribe relevant quotes that supported the incidents mentioned in chapters five and six.

The transcriptions took place immediately after the interviews. Relevant parts of the interviews were transcribed by hand on paper. These being the parts that focussed on the interviewees' experiences regarding press censorship and the lifting of press censorship. For instance questions numbers one, three and five for experiences of journalists, questions two, three and four for the experiences of radio and TV employers and questions five and six for those employed in the Department of Printing and Publication. Thus the interviews as opposed to the questionnaires covered not only newspaper journalists but also those working in Radio and TV and in the government department. This department will have a hand in the implementation of the new law when published and was involved in the implementation of censorship of the press pre 1995.

The interviewees' answers supported the respondents' answers, about the abolition of censorship. The researcher hoped that the answers to questions five and six dealing with the delay in publishing the new press law might give an indication as to the real direction of the Qatari press post publication and thus lead to further research. Both sets of data indicate that the lifting of censorship from the Qatari press has resulted in a higher level of freedom in the Qatari media. These interviews ran over a period of one month, October 2001.

2.4.Conclusion

This chapter has summarised the researcher's key research goals and the different methods used to gather information for the study. The main aim of the research is to assess the impact of the abolition of censorship on the Qatari media and journalism using a literature review, a questionnaire and interviews. The next chapter reviews literature on the extent of press freedom in Western countries in particular Europe and the USA.

Chapter Three

Freedom of the press in Western countries

3.1.Introduction

This chapter has four sections. In the first section the idea of freedom of expression will be discussed and examined briefly in the light of international human rights treaties and declarations. The second section will examine definitions of press freedom. In particular it will look at the ways in which freedom of the press has been understood as a positive liberty and as a negative liberty. The third section will look at four models of the press; it will look at the principles underpinning each theory and, to some extent, the effect the theories have had when they have been put into practice. The next section will examine various models of freedom of the press in Western democracies. In particular it will focus on the U.S. where freedom of the press takes the form of a positive liberty, and in the U.K, where it is seen as a negative liberty. Finally, the situation of media freedom in other Western democracies will be outlined using the positive or negative liberty paradigm.

3.2.Freedom of expression

It is unwise for a government to admit to its people or electorate that it is against the concept of press freedom and freedom of information whatever the political reality is. Thus many governments have written this 'basic freedom' into their constitutions, where there is one. Indeed none of its members used their veto when the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the historically important Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The relevant article, Article 19 states that:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (Sommerlad, 1966:145-146).

Moreover, the same status has been given to freedom of opinion and expression in Article 10, section 2 of the European Convention on Human Rights 1998 Act. Interestingly Article 10 was entirely based on Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Nicol, A. Millar, G. and Sharland, A, 2001: 221).

Nicol et al. point out (2001:221) by quoting section 2 of the above-mentioned act that these freedoms are qualified:

"The exercise of these freedoms since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interest of national security, territorial integrity, or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or the rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary".

Thus where these freedoms are recognised they are not absolute freedoms. In addition although many different countries have adopted declarations in support of freedom of expression, different definitions and interpretations of 'freedom' are attached to the same words by different ideologies. It is crucial to recognise this factor. Inevitably there are major disputes over the interpretation of such words as 'freedom', 'democracy', 'objectivity' and 'truth'.

3.3.The definitions of press freedom

In this section some definitions of the idea of press freedom are examined, in the context of political, economic, social and historical factors. The definition of freedom of the press used here assumes, principally, that in most cases the word 'press' is approximately equivalent to the more modern term 'media', which includes electronic means of conveying and receiving information, although in some countries legislation differs for the press and other forms of media (see section 3.5.3 below). Furthermore, when analysing a particular definition, one must consider the political, social and economic

context of the country in which the definition is deployed, as this may well affect the nature of the legislation.

In general there are two ways of understanding what is meant by freedom of the press. These two ways are viewed as the press possessing either negative or positive freedoms. Keane has summarised the concept of negative freedom as applied to the press:

"Advocates of the 'liberty of the press' typically thought of the censorship problem by means of the paradigm of negative liberty [...] the freedom of individuals or groups to express themselves without prior external restraint, and subject only to Government-enforced laws guaranteeing the same freedom equally to all other individuals" (1998: 37).

The term 'without prior external restraint' implies freedom from government censorship. The Third Royal Commission on the Press in the UK in 1977 expressed this view succinctly.

"We define freedom of the press as that degree of freedom from restraint which is essential to enable proprietors, editors and journalists to advance the public interest by publishing the facts and opinions without which a democratic electorate cannot make responsible judgements" (Final Report, 1977, cited in Robertson and Nicol, 1992:1).

This negative paradigm view does not account for the ways in which individuals or organisations may restrict or censor information for their own purposes and to their own advantage.

The negative dimensions of this paradigm are at times expressed by the absence in some countries of legislation guaranteeing freedom of expression. This applied to the UK, in particular, until the recent incorporation into British law of the European Convention on Human Rights in the Human Rights Act of 1998.

The more positive paradigm enshrines in statute or constitution the right to either positive freedom of expression, like the 1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights, or, as is the case in the American Constitution;

"Freedom and equality of communication requires legal protection and, where necessary, a written constitution... The American First Amendment ('Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press') still serves as the prototype of such legislation" (Keane, 1998:128).

As with the view of the freedom of the press held by the Third Royal Commission and mentioned above, there are drawbacks here. Keane points out that this law can, as in the case of the USA, "...turns a blind eye to corporate power by prohibiting only the federal and state governments from abridging, free speech" (ibid: 84). Thus, questions of corporate censorship may not be adequately dealt with, even where the 'positive' paradigm is in operation.

The degree therefore to which the means for assuring freedom of the press have been provided is one way of examining the models of press freedom in Western countries; some countries adopting a more positive approach and others a more negative approach, depending on the amount and type of legislation there is concerning the press. This will be discussed in section 3.5 below.

3.4.Four models of the press

The influential four models of the press, described by F.S. Siebert, T. Petersen and W. Schram include the 'authoritarian', the 'libertarian', the 'social responsibility' and the 'soviet communist' models of the role of the mass media in society.

3.4.1.The authoritarian model

According to the 'authoritarian' model, the state has supreme power in society, and mass communications must support the government in the interests of national advancement. As Siebert, et.al; argue, the authoritarian model "*has been most pervasive both historically and geographically*" (1978: 9). It was the model, which was adopted by most countries when society and technology were capable of engaging in the production of what we today understand as the 'mass media' of communication. Siebert, et.al,

(1978: 9) further claim that the authoritarian model *"furnishes the basis for the press systems in many modern societies; even when it has been abandoned, it has continued to influence the practices of a number of governments which theoretically adhere to libertarian principles "*. The theory provided the basis for determining the role and relationship of the popular press in modern society. It is supported by the key principles of authoritarianism. Diverse national units such as Saudi Arabia and North Korea have consciously or unconsciously adopted it. (Siebert, et.al; 1978: 9,10).

3.4.2.The libertarian model

The rise of the libertarian theory of the press paralleled the development of democratic principles in government and free enterprise in economics. Humphreys states *" the press played a key role in the development of democratic politics "* (1996: 22). The basic principle behind the libertarian theory or as it has been renamed the free press theory is that the press should not be restricted by any legislation *" Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech or the press "* (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 1).

The underlying principles of this approach can be summarised from McQuail, (1988: 115) as follows: There should be no prior censorship of any publication by a third party. Individuals or groups should not require a licence or permit for the distribution of any publication. Publications that criticise the government, government officials or political parties should be free from punishment. The freedom to publish errors as well as truth with respect to matters of opinion and belief should be equally protected. The collection of data carried out legally for publication should be unrestricted and finally information should be allowed to pass across national frontiers without restriction.

However, the application of this theory by countries which have it written in their constitutions has been complicated. This is firstly due to the possible infringement of individuals' rights that can follow on from the operation of press freedom, ie infringements of privacy. It is secondly due to the recent transfer of free market ideas to the communications world. The recent transfer of free market ideas to the world of communications has also complicated the application of this model. In this context

information is seen as a commodity to be produced and sold like many other products. Thus, this could possibly result in restraints being applied by external financial interests as was mentioned in section 3.3 where the matter of corporate censorship was briefly mentioned. In practice, in countries that have adopted it, the system is applied in the following manner: the press is free from pre-publication censorship but it must generally face the legal consequences caused by any post publication difficulties.

The weak point of the free press theory has been its failure to offer defined and clear foundations for the day-to-day operations of the mass media and to provide an acknowledged principle to distinguish between liberty and violation of liberty. On the other hand its greatest assets are its flexibility, and more significantly, as Siebert argues "*its confidence in its ability to advance the interests and welfare of human beings by continuing to place its trust in individual self-direction*" (Siebert et al, 1978: 71).

3.4.3. The social responsibility model

The last one hundred years, however, have seen a gradual shift away from pure libertarianism towards what has been described as the 'social responsibility theory of the press'. What is meant by this term? This model is primarily concerned with the idea that freedom carries with it obligations i.e. the press has an obligation to carry out certain essential mass communication functions. In this model the press has to satisfy the needs of society by servicing the political system through providing information, discussion, and debate on public affairs. This will help the public and safeguard the rights of the individual by serving as a watchdog over the government. It also services the economic system, primarily by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services through the medium of advertising, and finally it provides entertainment.

As Siebert et.al. argue

" The functions of the press under the social responsibility theory are basically the same as those under the libertarian theory...servicing the political system...enlightening the public...safeguarding the rights of the individual... servicing the economic system...providing

entertainment...maintaining its own financial self-sufficiency... But it reflects a dissatisfaction with the interpretation of those functions" (Siebert, 1978:73,74).

3.4.4. The Soviet communist model

In spite of the fall of the U.S.S.R. Siebert et.al's Communist model still retains validity as a description of the press under a one party state. McQuail, (1988: 119) has summed up the characteristics of this theory; The media should serve and control the working class. There should be no private ownership. The media has the important function of mobilising society towards socialist, economic and social goals. The media should react to its audiences' desires and wants within the framework of socialistic, economic and social goals. In order to control anti-social publications, society has the right to use legal means including censorship to stop their publication. Moreover, the media should provide an objective overview of society. This should be based on Marxist-Leninist principles. Finally, the media should support similar progressive socialist movements at home and abroad. The aims of journalists should mirror and reinforce the best interests of a socialist society.

The Soviet communist approach and the authoritarian model exhibit some similarities. In Saudi Arabia, which functions under the authoritarian model (see chapter four), the government follows Islamic Law, i.e. the people have to follow the government's Islamic policy (Sharia). Alternative systems or dissent is not permitted and are punishable. This situation is similar to the former communist countries where the socialist proletariat was under the control of the socialist state. Alternatives or dissent were not permitted and were punishable. A free press was not allowed. These systems, the authoritarian and the Soviet, support the status quo.

3.5. Models of press freedom in Western countries

McQuail and Siune, (1998: 2) argue that Western societies are traditionally expected to be democracies. Although democracy can be interpreted in various ways, depending on the social and political context of different countries, there are some universal elements

in all of these situations. One of these is a commitment to a 'free press' or 'libertarian' press system.

The following section provides a description of press laws in some Western countries, particularly the U.S.A and the United Kingdom. The USA and UK are selected for study because their systems provide clear examples of the different ways the 'libertarian' and 'social responsibility' models operate in countries demonstrating a positive and a negative paradigm of press freedom. The laws will be outlined and the principles on which they are based stated. Finally the implications for press freedom will be discussed briefly.

3.5.1. The United States of America

The United States is the most economically and militarily influential country in the world. It is therefore appropriate that this country is examined first. Furthermore it is generally argued that the U.S. press is one of the least restrained in the world. The Watergate incident in which press investigations played a key role in events that led to the downfall of President Nixon is often cited as an example of this freedom. Nonetheless, restrictions do operate such as those placed by the Defence Department on access to information, as does a certain degree of self-censorship in reporting, for example during the 1990-91 Gulf War. The tendency for the press to promote the commercial interests of advertisers should also be remembered (Strossen, 1993: 192).

There are two types of government in the U.S.A, namely the Federal and the State governments. The Federal constitutional clauses pertaining to the press are in both the Federal constitution and the individual States' constitutions. The two most important parts of the Federal constitution pertaining to the press are the First Amendment and the Fourteenth Amendment (Strossen, 1993: 193). The former states that:

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people to peaceably assemble and to petition the government for a redress and grievances" (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 1).

The fourteenth Amendment has been interpreted as " *obligating every State and local government to respect freedom of speech and of the press* " (Strossen, 1993: 193). Each State government in the USA therefore has laws guaranteeing free expression. State laws may provide more rights than Federal law, but the First Amendment provided a minimum legislative requirement below which State laws may not go. The first amendment is concerned with both receiving and disseminating information. It was in this context that a number of laws were introduced to enhance freedom of information. A Freedom of Information Act was passed in 1966 and amended in 1974. Before this Act was passed, public access to government documents was permitted only if there was a demonstrable need to know. The purpose of the Act was to make available to anyone, American or not, records held by the executive branches of Federal government's agencies. A 'need to know' justification is no longer required. However, state, local and city governments are not included in this Act. Information regarding defence or foreign policy, which has been classified as confidential, secret or top secret by Presidential Executive Order, is exempt. The Federal Advisory Committee Act (1972) has six main aims, one of which is, where possible, to open to the public meetings of Federal advisory committees. Furthermore the Sunshine Act (1976) and the Privacy Act (1974) also improve public access to federal records. In all of these acts the press and the public have equal rights of access (Birkinshaw, 1996: 51-60; and Robertson and Nichol, 1992: 1-3).

Thus freedom of the press is seen in the U.S.A as a positive liberty. The implication has been that positive legislation is often required, at both State and Federal level, to promote the right of the press to collect and disseminate information.

3.5.2. The United Kingdom

Freedom of the press has historically been seen as a negative freedom in the U.K. The U.K. has no written constitution and hence no constitutional guarantees for freedom of the press (Nicol and Bowman, 1993: 167). There are no specific laws to protect the freedom of the press: in fact there are a number of laws which act as restraints on press freedom including those relating to the breach of confidence, contempt of court, official

secrecy, D-notices, incitement to disaffection, prevention of terrorism and copyright (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 2).

However, there are important procedural rules, all bar one non-statutory, which act as pillars supporting freedom of expression in the U.K (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 3).

The first was the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 10 Freedom of Expression, ratified in Britain in 1951. However it was not incorporated into The Human Rights Act until 1998 and came fully into effect in the U.K. on October 2, 2000 (see Human Rights Act 1998 Article 10 cited in Nicol et.al., 2001: 221). Before incorporation the British press could appeal to the European Court against a British court limiting its freedom. When this appeal was successful it resulted in the U.K government being obliged to change the law, as in the case of the *Sunday Times* 'thalidomide case' in 1981, in which the British Government was obliged to change the law governing contempt of court. The full implications of this legal development for press freedom and responsibility have yet to be worked out. Thus one of Robertson and Nicol's 'procedure' rules has taken on a statutory dimension (Spilsbury, 2000: 15; Welsh and Greenwood, 1997: 2-3; and O'Malley and Soley, 2000: 184).

The second procedural rule that supports freedom of expression in the U.K. is the right, not absolute, of journalists to trial by jury. If a writer receives a legal opinion that a certain opinion or story or the actions necessary to obtain the story may breach the law to be assured of the right to trial by jury he must first ascertain if that law, which might be breached, permits trial by jury. This right of writers to trial by jury extends to the following areas of criminal law: many breaches of the official secrets law, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, criminal libel, obscenity, blasphemy, sedition and incitement to disaffection. There are, however, four exceptions to trial by jury. These are contempt of court, breach of confidence and copyright, media offences that can be heard only in a magistrates court and regulatory bodies that can censor information if there is a possibility that it may breach the law (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 10-13).

The third procedural pillar that protects public interest reporting is the open-justice principle by which the judicial system is open to public scrutiny (when compared with the workings of government which are not always open). The rights of journalists to appeal against exclusion from the courtroom are included in section 159 of the '*Criminal Justice Act*' of 1988. Indeed a tangible consequence of the open-justice principle is that every court has a press bench in order to provide reporters with a place in court for the accurate taking of notes.

The fourth pillar is the rule against prior restraint. This can be summed up as 'publish first and then take the consequences' and is similar to the way in which the free press theory has been put into practice (see section 3.4.). This rule has been weakened in contemporary Britain by injunctions issued by judges prohibiting the media from publishing. Government ministers to stop publication of a contentious news story, may use injunctions. The purpose of such injunctions is to try and thwart the fifth pillar which is freedom from legislation which allows government interference. In extreme circumstances the government does, however, have the power to stop broadcasting. Examples of such circumstances are general strikes, the Falklands war and Northern Ireland in 1972. Also section 13.4 of the licence agreement gives the Home Secretary the power to stop the BBC from transmitting any programme at any time not only in of emergencies. However the BBC 'may', (at the Director- General's discretion), tell the public that it has received such an order from the government (Robertson and Nicol, 1992: 25, 26).

The last pillar is the existence of extra-judicial self-regulatory bodies. These help regulate media content by applying and interpreting codes of practice and guidelines. These bodies are as follows; the Press Complaints Commission the Independent Television Commission, the Radio Authority, the Broadcasting Standards Commission, the BBC and finally the Advertising Standards Authority. The P.C.C. and A.A are non-statutory bodies; a Royal Charter and the ITC, RA and BSC govern the BBC by statute. These bodies can act as semi-autonomous buffers shielding the media at times, with varying degrees of success, from state interference (Spilsbury, 2000: 471-482).

The implication of these procedural pillars is that, compared with most developing countries, the U.K. media enjoys relative freedom. In a sense these pillars address the fact that as there is no written constitution, the rights of the press need additional extra-judicial support. The implementation of the Human Rights Act will however, gradually result in the evolution of case law relating to media freedom.

3.5.3. European countries

As in the case of the U.S and the U.K, freedom of the press in European countries is perhaps best understood as a form of positive or negative freedom. Some countries indeed will contain elements of both. Some examples of European countries whose models of the press can best be understood as a form of positive liberty are as follows: France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Spain, The Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Italy. In each case there are constitutional provisions specifically guaranteeing freedom of the press.

Let us look at the two of the most powerful nations in the E.U.: France and Germany. In the case of France, Kuhn (1995:50) states that *"through its control of the legislative process the state lays down the regulatory framework within which the French press operates"*. Key examples of this are the 1881 Press Statutes, the 1944 Press Ordinance and the 1986/84 Press Statutes. In the case of Germany as Karpen (1993: 78) states *"Paragraphs 1 and 2 of article 5 of the 1949 Basic Law of the Federal Republic of Germany guarantee the right of freedom of expression"*. In both cases the provisions are based on fundamental human rights as stated in section 3.5.2 above.

All the remaining seven countries have specific constitutional protection. Perhaps the Swedish constitution offers the best protection for the freedom of the press. Moreover the constitutions of three states, The Netherlands, Spain and Sweden, include articles that protect the right of the public to receive information whereas in France, Germany and the U.S. it is the interpretation of the constitution, which allows such a guarantee (Article 19, 1993: 256).

In countries such as Ireland and Norway, the basic model of press freedom can be seen as a form of a negative liberty. For example, in Ireland and Norway there is no specific legislation for the press as opposed to the broadcasting media (Kelly and Truetzschler, 1997: 114; and Østbye, 1997: 170).

In conclusion it can be said that press freedom is regarded as positive liberty in the majority of European countries. In those countries where it is regarded as a negative liberty and which have adopted the European human rights law it will be regarded as more of a positive liberty as in the case of the U.K. The situation is generally, changeable, with each country best thought of as being on a point on a scale between the two and, as is now the case with the UK, operating a system which is also developing in legal terms.

3.6.Conclusion

This chapter has briefly looked at the provision for freedom of the press in international human rights conventions worldwide and has found it to be universal. It has been pointed out that although this is the case, the interpretation of these provisions might be very different from one society to another. It then looked at two ways of understanding freedom of the press, firstly as a negative freedom and secondly as a positive freedom. An important distinction was made between the two i.e. in a country which interprets freedom of the press as a positive liberty there is legislation specifically concerned with the press and other forms of media to ensure that freedom and to limit any constraints and vice versa. Using these two ways of looking at the freedom of the press we also examined the four models of press system which have evolved in different cultural, political, religious and philosophical contexts. Models in various Western countries were then outlined examining what the legislation was, if any, and commenting briefly on its implications for press freedom. A general conclusion may be that countries like the UK, which sees freedom of the press as a negative paradigm are moving towards a more positive approach due to adoption in their laws of human rights legislation. This chapter has illustrated the variety of ways in which the idea of press freedom has been understood and put into practice. In countries where this has happened the legal form has varied. It can be seen that universal declarations of rights and constitutional expressions are often dependent for their effect on the specific legal framework of an individual country. The approaches surveyed here provide a context in which to evaluate press freedom in both the Arab World (chapter four) and Qatar in particular.

Chapter Four

Freedom of the Press in Arab countries

4.1.Introduction

This chapter examines aspects of press controls in Arab countries. It argues that the authoritarian model of the press demonstrates much about the press in Arab states. It proposes that two subcategories of this theory can be developed and applied to Arab countries: that of strong authoritarianism and that of a less strong authoritarian system of press control. For each country examined, this chapter will look at the current press legislation and any constraints or restrictions which apply. It will then briefly discuss the implications of these for the freedom of the press.

4.2.Arab countries

In the previous chapter, it was shown that the two dominant paradigms in thinking about the press in Western countries, the positive or negative paradigms, were related to broader theories, that is to say the social responsibility and the libertarian theories of the press. Similarly, press regulation and control in Arab countries are related to the authoritarian theory of the press, which in turn reflects the nature of the political regimes in many Arab states. In some Arab countries there may be elements of all four theories. However, generally in the majority of Arab countries there seems to be evidence that the media operates under an authoritarian approach (Rugh, 1979: 25; and Hafez, 2001: 5). If there is legislation concerning the freedom of the press embedded in a human rights declaration it may be constrained and so, in practice this approach to the press is the one that has been the most prevalent within the Arab states.

To understand who is in control of the press in Arab countries it is necessary to look beyond the legal situation. Factors such as the presence of political opponents, individuals or parties, the strength or the legitimacy of the ruling elite, the political stability of the state, the existence of a real or perceived external threat and the economic

strength of the media must all be considered. With these factors in mind Rugh, according to Hafez (2001: 5), usefully characterised three types of Arab press. These are firstly, the mobilised press, which is totally controlled by the political system. The second type is the loyalist press. This is privately owned perhaps without censorship, and supports the system, as the government may well control the supply of press materials e.g. (paper, etc.). The third type is the diverse press, which is free. It can be seen that the first two types correspond with the strongly authoritarian model to a certain degree. However Rugh's 1979 analysis applied in 2001 no longer stands in some cases. Thus according to Hafez this categorisation needs revising in these cases. He suggests that a useful way of doing this is by using the terms strongly and less authoritarian press systems as this mirrors the fluctuations, with time, of the political systems.

The degree of freedom can be categorised by the degree of the constraints and restrictions imposed on the press by the ruling elite. In approximately one third of Arab states there is absolute control over the press i.e. in the so-called 'strongly' authoritarian states. Examples of such countries are Saudi Arabia, Oman, Libya, Iraq and Sudan (Anon, 1998a: 62). In others there is less restraint Hafiz (1999:3-8) argues that the countries with a less authoritarian model of press freedom include Egypt, Lebanon, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar. In the following section, examples of strongly authoritarian countries will be explored concentrating on Saudi Arabia as a prime example and also less authoritarian countries focussing on Egypt.

4.3.Strongly authoritarian countries

4.3.1.Saudi Arabia

The Saudi Arabian press functions under the 1963 Press and Publication Act. According to this Act, the press is private and the government has no right to interfere unless 'general welfare' is threatened. However, the Press Code enables the government to intervene. This Code was formulated in 1964 and gives the monarchy the right to limit press freedom. It particularly enables the government to employ censorship to limit criticism of Islam, the ruling elite, or the government. The term 'general welfare' has not been precisely defined for legal purposes. Generally, the term implies that journalists

ought not to write on any issues that might cause unease between citizens and the government, or detrimentally affect 'each citizen's duty towards his religion, country and community'. Rampal argues that:

" The law again states that journalists may not criticise the government or any governmental body, the Royal Family, heads of friendly states, or the clergy, and may not offend Islam or the Islamic act of Sharia or support atheism. Editors-in-chief are held responsible for their publications and emergency courts try journalists and newspapers that are accused of a breach of the regulations" (1994: 255).

There are various state bodies that have responsibility for the strict censorship imposed upon newspapers. These bodies include, the Censorship Committee, the Ordinary Publications Office, the National Press Censorship Office, and the Higher Information Council. The bodies help to operate the Press and Publications Law. These organisations restrict freedom of expression and force journalists to practise self-censorship. The strict censorship and lack of freedom is a major reason why no foreign correspondent is permanently based in Riyadh (Reporters Sans Frontieres, 1999: 285).

According to the constitution, all newspapers must be printed and published by licensed press establishments. As a result, the government may or may not issue a licence or ban a newspaper from being published. Though apparently independent, the chairmen of boards and editors of individual publications are appointed or dismissed by the state. The Censorship Committee, which consists of officials from the Judiciary, the Publications Department of the Ministry of Information, and the Department of Education, is responsible for reviewing and censoring all foreign and national publications according to the policies of the State and the 1958 Censorship Decree which is contained and amended in the 1963 Printing and Publications Act (Rampal, 1994: 255-256).

Due to its huge natural oil reserves, the Saudi authorities have developed a media empire, which consists of newspapers, television and radio, which is available throughout the Arab world. From Riyadh to London they disseminate the Kingdom's propaganda and information in an effort to minimise criticism of the regime. This is

clearly seen in the dependent relationship of the official Saudi Press Agency to the Minister of the Interior (Reporters Sans Frontieres, 1999: 285). The Higher Media Council under the chairmanship of the Minister of the Interior was set up in 1981. This council is used by the government to indirectly buy and thus own external TV stations thus enabling the government to continue to transmit news with a pro Kingdom bias into the country (Boyd, 2001: 47).

In conclusion, although Saudi Arabia has had legislation since 1963 concerned with press freedom this 'freedom' is based on the ownership of a media outlet rather than on the freedom to express ideas contrary to those approved by the ruling elite. Therefore, a situation has developed whereby the Ministry of Information advises the press on what issues to include and distributes emphatic guidelines to the editors on how to report them. However, the US State Department's report on Human Rights maintains that Saudi Arabia's press freedom situation has been improving since 1999 (IPI, 2000: 249). However, looking at the evidence presented, it can be argued that in practice the approach to freedom of the press in Saudi is a strongly authoritarian one, a situation which can be also found in Oman.

4.3.2.Oman

The 1984, Printing and Publication law gave the government the right to censor all domestic and foreign publications, which resulted in the confiscation of any imported publications that included any critical material on Oman. Broadcasting, with the exception of the Internet and satellite channels is strictly controlled by the government. However, the official Internet provider, Oman's General Tele-communications Organisation, controls web site access. As a result any 'sensitive' material can be carefully sifted before it can reach users (Ministry of Information, 1984: 3-6).

Thus it is apparent to anyone from a democratic country visiting the Sultanate of Oman that freedom of expression is severely restricted even though formal censorship was ended by the Sultan's decree in 1995 (IPI, 2000: 246). The amended law promotes freedom of the press, however, there are no political parties, no direct elections neither is

there any criticism of the Sultan. In this way, the media while 'free' are under government supervision. Similarly the law encourages the independence of the judiciary; the courts are also under the control of the Sultan.

If this government supervision is present in the activities of the press and media it may explain reports of human rights violations, arbitrary arrests, mistreatment of prisoners, prolonged detention without charge and the denial of due process. Also a system of government subsidies allows it to indirectly control some of the private press (IPI, 1998: 124).

Oman, like Saudi Arabia, presents a situation, which, on the surface, appears to be changing. Formal censorship has ended due to the 1995 press decree but press freedom is still severely restricted and self-censorship (a corollary of self-preservation) continues throughout the media. Censorship may have become more self-imposed, however it is still censorship. A country where citizens are unable, either by law or by more subtle state control to publicly express views or opinions that may be opposed to the ruling elite, can be classified, as in the case of Oman, as a country with a staunchly authoritarian approach to the press.

4.3.3.Libya

According to the 1972 Publications Law differences of opinion are allowed in Libya however, this is not applied to the press. According to a Reporters Sans Frontieres report (1999: 279), " *the rigour of the military regime imposed on his country by Colonel Muammar Gadaffi since 1966 applies fully to the press, which is firmly under the control and subjected to the censorship of the propaganda services* ". Moreover, Mezran argues that in Libya, the acts that regulated mass media under the monarchy have been tightened since the 1969 revolution (1994: 183). Again the tool, which maintains press controls, is 'self-censorship' backed by a web of informants. However there are signs that perhaps press restrictions are diminishing. The Tripoli based Ministry of Information, Culture and Tourism has been disbanded, with responsibilities being taken on by regional governors (IPI, 2000: 243). Thus any restrictions on the press would be

regionally, not centrally directed. This decentralisation of power may be indicative of a move to a less authoritarian approach or may be for internal security reasons.

In conclusion, whether or not this is an indication of a shift away from an authoritarian approach to the media remains to be seen. It seems that up to 2001 the strongly authoritarian model is the closest match to describe the situation of the press in Libya.

4.3.4.Iraq

In 1967 Law number 155 abolished private newspapers and made licences issued by the Ministry of Information mandatory. The law also established censorship which continues to play a highly significant role in Iraq's communication philosophy. The Ministry of Information and Culture provides guidelines and controls the content of the media to ensure that ideas or images are in accordance with the ABSP's (the Arab Ba 'ath Socialist Party in Iraq) ideology, major principles, and policies. Hurrat and Leidig, argue that

" The Director of the office of censorship at the Ministry of Information and Culture is responsible for ensuring that programming and information that is explicitly sexual in nature, excessively violent, or containing objectionable... scenes, nudity, ... are all prohibited " (1994: 23).

No explicit criticism of the government is accepted. In 1999 the leading Shia cleric Ayatollah Saadiq Al-Sadr who had publicly recommended the release of all imprisoned clergy was assassinated. Although the government did not admit to any involvement in the assassination, interestingly one of the Ayatollah's regional representatives was also arrested for repeated criticism of the State (Anon, 1999: 106). The evidence therefore tends to indicate that the approach to freedom of the press in Iraq can best be described as strongly authoritarian.

4.3.5.Sudan

The Press and Publications Act have been in place since 1989 when Omar al Bashir took control during a coup. This act provides for the detention of journalists without trial as they are often seen to be against the government. It also allows the secret police to close any newspaper which the government deems to be a threat to Sudan's security. Moreover all private newspapers were banned in 1989 but since then a small number of independent newspapers have been published. These need a government-issued publishing licence and are prohibited from reporting on opposition parties (IPI, 1999: 212). Despite less authoritarian utterances about being willing to accept a more liberal press environment, newspapers are still seized by the authorities and editors are warned. Journalists are arrested and detained and sometimes their lives are threatened (IPI, 2000: 250). Thus freedom of the press in Sudan operates in a highly authoritarian environment.

4.3.6.Algeria

In 1990 the Information Law was adopted. The state's monopoly on printing presses (and a ban on private printing presses), paper and advertising gives the state a mechanism by which (withdrawing one or all of these) it can obstruct production. It can suspend newspapers due to non-payment of debts owed to the publicly owned presses etc. Such closures correspond with the appearance of anti -government articles in the closed newspapers. Thus financial restraints can and are used to control the press. Furthermore journalists are arrested and editors imprisoned (IPI, 2000: 223; and Zaghlami, 1994: 23). In conclusion it may be said that the press in Algeria is subject to a strongly authoritarian state.

4.3.7.Jordan

On May 17, 1993, the Jordan Publications and Press Law number 10 was issued. The law states that the government has the sole authority to license all the press and to withdraw licences if a publication 'threatens national existence or security', or violates 'the constitutional principles of the Kingdom', 'national feelings', or 'public decency'. Ayish stats that:

"The act specifically forbids the publication of news about the Royal Family unless it has been officially approved, of articles defaming religion or contrary to public morality, or of unauthorised military and secret information" (1994: 137-138).

Despite the fact that in 1999 the new king granted the parliament a more important role in the government of the country and initiated some changes in the press, the state still controls much of the media. Thus, due to heavy restrictions, journalists face a dilemma between reporting the truth and satisfying government policy (IPI, 2000: 240). According to Hafez (2001: 91-92) the Press and Publication Law of 1998 exerts control over Jordanian journalists working for non-Jordanian publications by making them join the Jordanian Press Association which requires a large financial deposit. Furthermore, government licensing of journalism is stricter now than in 1993 and the government still controls financing of the press by state ownership. This suggests that the authorities do not want truth to be the currency of journalism in Jordan and again is indicative of strongly authoritarian control of the press.

4.3.8. The United Arab Emirates

The U.A.E. consists of seven states, with each state having its own ruling tribal elite. There are no political parties and no elections, a situation, which gives the rulers complete power. Despite the provisions of the 1971 Constitution, it can be argued that there is no freedom of the press in the U.A.E., since under the Federal Constitution and the 1980 Publication Law the Ministry of Information controls all books, newspapers and periodicals. As a result, the media avoids criticism of sensitive matters such as the government, ruling families, religion and religious leaders (AL-Ajleh, 1997: 67). There are several foreign periodicals and newspapers that are permanently censored in order to protect the readers from 'offensive' content before being circulated. The government controls the domestic broadcasting media with the Publications Law which focuses on the journalists. It requires them to obtain a government issued licence that can be revoked. However, satellite television is becoming more popular and is reportedly uncensored (IPI, 1998: 141). Moreover with the increase of Internet use, maintaining

censorship is becoming more difficult. Furthermore, one of the Emirates, Dubai, intends to set up the Dubai Media City, which is to have more press freedom. This, seemingly, is a move towards 'more press freedom' however, the government has issued a warning that it would not allow partisan television stations or publications and it would hold the media accountable for its use of the freedom (IPI, 2000: 254). That is to say, journalists will face the consequences of what they write if it is contrary to what the government deems fit and proper. So it can be seen that even though the rights of freedom of speech are in the constitution, complete implementation is not in place. This indicates once again an authoritarian view of the press and politics.

The information cited for the above countries demonstrates that, in general, they can be described as exercising a strongly authoritarian control over the press despite the existence, in some of them, of legislation, which nominally supports freedom for the press.

4.4.Less authoritarian countries

While categorising countries in such a way is not always easy, especially as conditions change with time, it is possible to point to another group of Arab states where there are less strict controls on the press than exist in the countries surveyed so far.

4.4.1.Egypt

The 1995 Press Law, which imposed penalties on journalists who wrote against the government, has been replaced by the 1996 Press Law (Amin, 2001:25). The law states that under certain conditions journalists and editors can be sued and newspapers, suspended (Hafiz, 1998: 3-8). Moreover the government ratified amendments to company law at the beginning of 1998 which resulted in new restraints on the freedom of issuing newspapers. Prior to this, Cabinet acceptance had been a condition for establishing newspaper publishing companies (Muragha, 1998: 9-17). This condition was changed from Cabinet acceptance to the right of the government to refuse or reject the establishment of such companies (AL-Musallami, 1998: 114-139). The press and

journalists are still subjected to aggressive attacks by Parliament (The People's Council), and sometimes the government. Often, journalists and newspapers are sued for their actions (AL-Jamal, 1999: 9-19). However, while the courts have acquitted many journalists and newspapers many others are still subjected to imprisonment and pay fines due to the misuse of this power and sometimes the law. Furthermore, on September 20th 2000, the Governor of Cairo issued an administrative decree, enforcing the Press Law, and closing fourteenth newspapers and newsletters. Monthly magazines with pro Iraqi articles, contrary to the Government's line, were seized on their arrival from Cyprus where they had been printed (IPI, 2000: 228). Thus the 1998 Arab Report on Human Rights stated that criticism of the Press law represented a great, unaccountable risk for the press (Anon, 1998b: 38-39). This risk, posed by the Press Law, is not only applicable to journalists but also to newspaper publishers. However, Abdal-Rahman (1997: 17-18) confirms that there is freedom of the press in Egypt,

"...in the context of other Arab states, because of Egyptian journalists' continued attacks on Government policies they oppose. They continue to speak out against attempts to limit the freedom of the press".

Thus whilst dissent is voiced by journalists, indicating less control than in the countries mentioned above, it is done so at the journalists', editors' or publishers' risk.

4.4.2. Lebanon

Although the 1963 Printing and Publications Law, which was still valid in 1979, prohibits the publication of news endangering national security, according to the IPI report "*Lebanon is widely known for its vibrant press climate that is one of the freest and liveliest in the Middle East* " (2000: 242). Four million Lebanese have access to a vast number of publications and several different TV and radio stations. However, the position of the Lebanese press is ambiguous because the press is relatively free regarding domestic affairs, yet it is severely controlled when it comes to subjects concerning Syrian hegemony over the country and tension in South Lebanon. The news sector is generally privatised and highly competitive, a unique model in this part of the world (Reporters Sans Frontieres, 1999: 278). Evident self-censorship by journalists

stems from the fact that the media are closely linked with the economic and political interests of their owners. Thus it can be said that in the context of the region the Lebanese press is relatively free and therefore operates under a weak authoritarian system.

4.4.3. Kuwait

Rugh (1979: 106) states that the 1976 Press and Publications Law allowed the government to cancel the publication of newspapers, to imprison journalists or editors if they wrote articles which were anti-Islamic or anti the ruling elite. Indeed the Press and Publications Law states that it is a criminal offence to publish materials that violate by allusion, slander, sarcasm, or disparagement God or the prophets or the companions of the prophet Mohammad, or sullies public morals. It is also prohibited to publish any materials, which would insult the Amir of Kuwait. However, the cancellation of publication of newspapers has been rarely applied and when it was the ban was only for a short time. *"The Kuwaiti government has officially abolished censorship of the press since 1986"* (Kazan, 1994: 157). The Kuwaiti press, however, has established its own form of self-censorship (Landor, 1993: 24; and AL-Rumaihi, 1999: 13). AL-Saqr (1995), editor in chief of *AL Qabas* Kuwaiti newspaper confirmed that *"Kuwait has a strong and free press compared to other countries in the Gulf, Kuwait has a relatively large degree of press freedom"*. The important words are: 'compared to other countries in the Gulf' and these allow one to deem Kuwait as a country with a less authoritarian view of the press.

4.5.Conclusion

This chapter has characterised major countries in the Arab world as having either strong or less strong authoritarian controls on press freedom. It has looked at legislation concerned with the press and its implications. It has been pointed out that, in some countries, censorship has been officially abolished, by decree in Oman in 1995 and in Kuwait since 1986, only to be replaced by self-censorship carefully monitored by the state. Where this has occurred the line between self-censorship and state censorship becomes unclear. It is clear that whether the state controls the press, or whether the press controls itself through a more subtle style of censorship, what remains is a freedom that is restricted or to use a more political term 'guided'. It is also clear that deciding which category a country belongs to is not always easy, because of the shifting internal and regional, political background. However, as freedom of the press is a relative freedom in any Arabic country, the evidence presented above for these categorisations is valid. The evidence presented here illustrates that although, in many Arab countries the press has a degree of freedom from state control, none of these countries can be compared in either their legal provisions or practice with the situation in Western countries such as the UK and the USA. With the advent of new communications technology such as the Internet and satellite T.V censorship is becoming more difficult. For this reason some of the strongly authoritarian countries have adopted a pragmatic stance to press freedom becoming apparently less authoritarian, for example the U.A.E. and Algeria. The following chapter will look at developments in Qatar since 1971, and focus on the Qatari press prior to 1995.

Chapter Five

Qatar and its Press Laws prior to 1995

5.1.Introduction

This chapter is concerned with Qatar and its media pre 1995. The chapter starts by presenting Qatar, the country, and gives some general geophysical information about the country. It then proceeds to discuss the country's historical background and the economic and social effects of this history. This chapter also highlights the main stages of development before and after the discovery of oil, and the changes in government since 1971 and goes on to present the structure of the legislative process and the media laws pre 1995. It provides an overall view of the media in Qatar. Finally it looks at examples of the censoring effects of these laws on the media and journalists.

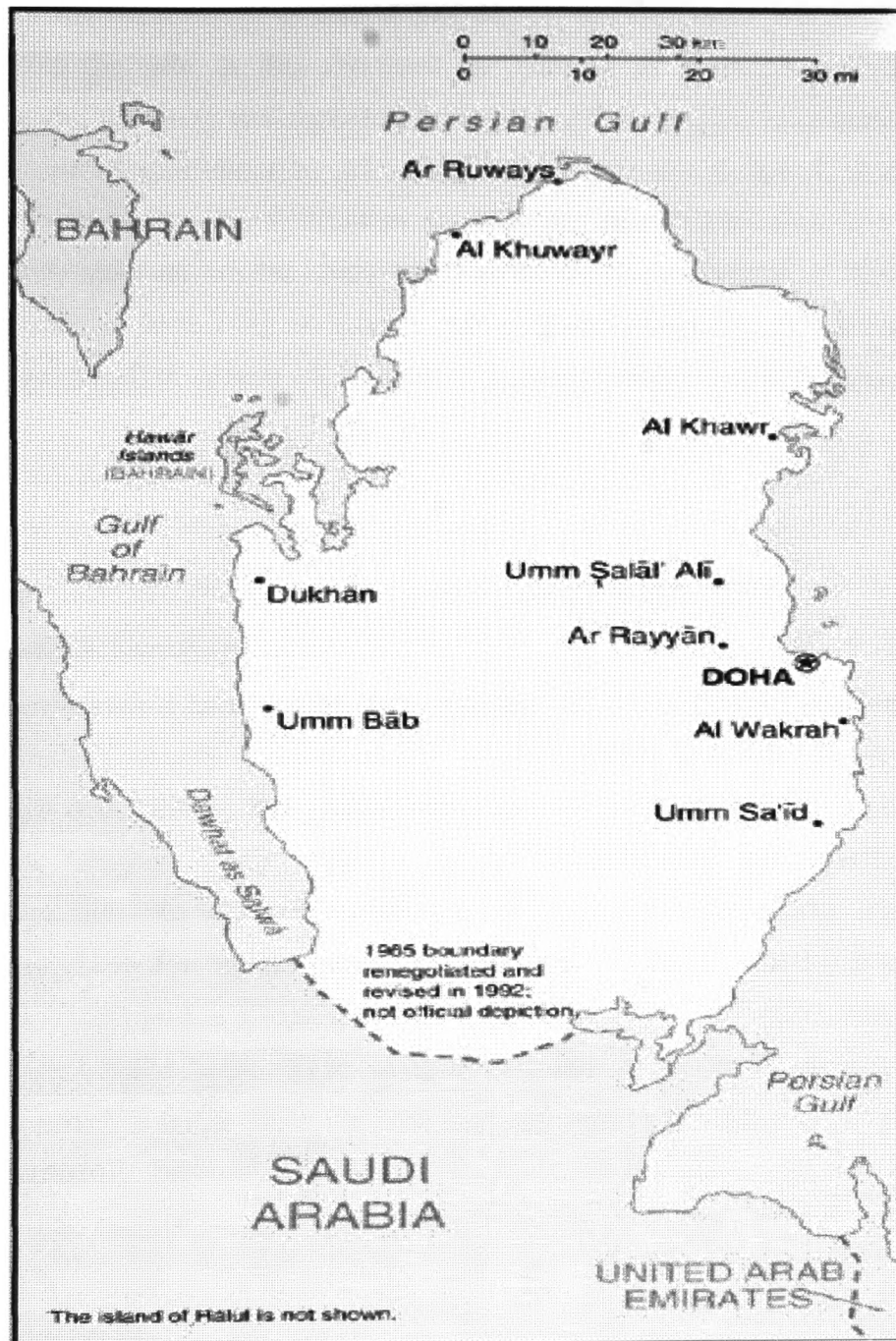
5.2.Qatar - a context

5.2.1.Geography

Qatar is one of the smallest Arab states in terms of population and geographical area. It is situated midway along the western coast of the Arabian Gulf between latitudes 24.27-26.10 North and Longitude 50.45-52.40 East (See Figure 5. 1, the Qatari map on page 40). The country has an area of approximately 11,437 square kilometres and covers a low-lying limestone peninsula projecting northwards approximately 160 kilometres into the Gulf. Qatar has a desert climate, which tends to be pleasant and sunny in the winter and hot and humid in the summer. The population of Qatar was 522,000 according to the 1997 census; most of the population (90%) reside in Doha, the capital city. Arabic is the official language, and Islam is the official religion (Anon, 2000a: 2).

Figure 5.1

Map of Qatar



Ministry of Information, (1995), *Qatar, Qatari Year Book*, (Doha, Press and Publication Department): 1.

5.2.2.Economic

Developments and progress in Qatar are based on two main factors: the Qatari citizen and the national economy. It is natural that the oil and gas sector has attracted major attention from the state, as they represent the mainstay of the national economy. The change that the discovery and export of oil have created did not occur suddenly but it took some time to come about. In 1989, income per capita was around \$ 15,800 and the national income capital was \$ 9 billion. In 2000 the income per capita was around \$ 30,000 and the national income capital was \$ 20 billion (Anon, 2000b: 1). Thus it can be seen that there has been a big increase in both of these economic indicators as result of the development of all sectors of the Qatari economy backed by the revenues from oil and gas.

5.2.3.Social changes in Qatar from 1971 to the mid-late 1990s

5.2.3.1.Family Structure

Many of the society's basic values have changed. Tribalism declined gradually and the overall attitude of society focused on individuals and their acquired positions achieved through their own efforts. The Qatari family changed in terms of its size, becoming an independent, nuclear family whereas before it had been an extended family. Relationships and roles within the family also changed. For example, the father became directly responsible for his children's upbringing and guidance, and the mother had a new role and occupied a social status different from before. Women's role in society changed from being a housewife to being an employee in positions similar to men. The role of the person is being shared by both men and women (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1999: 102-108).

5.2.3.2.Education

Education in the state of Qatar has gone through two main phases. Before the discovery of oil people depended on fishing and hunting and they received a very simple education in a "Kuttab": (A one -teacher simple elementary school). After the discovery of oil the first school was built for boys in 1951 and for girls in 1954. In 1956 non-compulsory

education was made available to all citizens. There are three school stages; primary (six years), preparatory (three years), and secondary (three years). Education has been the responsibility of the government since 1956 (AL-Asiry, 1997: I).

Education at all levels in government schools is free for the children of all citizens and non-Qatari residents who are government employees. The state also provides free vocational training, including day and evening classes for Qatari's. An extensive programme to improve literacy is being implemented, and plans are under way to introduce compulsory state education. The literacy rate was 30% in 1970 while in 2000 it increased to 86.4% (AL-Mansori, 2001: 2).

Qatar University was established in 1977. The Ministry of Education also awards scholarships for overseas study to Qatari students. Since the discovery of oil, education has expanded and developed along with and as a result of economic development (AL-Asiry, 1997: I).

5.2.3.3. Access to consumer goods and changing lifestyles

The financial impact of oil, however, did not materialise before the 1960s. In that decade the Qatari government started investing its accumulated oil revenues in the construction of infrastructure, public utilities and social services. It was during those years that work started on the construction of water desalination stations and electricity power plants, in addition to the expansion in the educational and health services. During the 1970s and 1980s, the pace of the economic change started showing its impact on Qatari society as a whole, and on the city (Ministry of Information, 1990: 172-174). In particular by the late 1990s shopping malls were common around the city (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1998: 185-205; and AL-Amari, 1998: 27).

5.3. Government

Qatar is a hereditary country and the AL Thani Family has ruled it since the 19th century. In 1916, a treaty was ratified with Britain in which Qatar became a British protectorate. Qatar enacted a provisional constitution in April 1970, asserting its full statehood for the first time. The full independence of Qatar was announced on 3 September 1971. HH The Amir Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad AL-Thani became the Prime Minister and the Head of State at the same time (Ministry of Information, 1990: 27). That means he became the autocratic ruler of Qatar.

5.3.1. The Amir's programme for change

On 27 June 1995, HH The Amir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa AL-Thani acceded as Head of State. On accession he made some changes to the government. Most importantly on 23 October 1996 the position of Prime Minister was established, and that of the Deputy Prime Minister followed in January 1999 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000: 50). Neither post was occupied by the Amir but by people chosen by his representatives. Further changes are listed below. More explanations for these changes can be seen in the Amir's statement of 1995 made on accession to the BBC on 8 July 1995 "*I am personally keen... to support ... real democracy*" (Anon, 1995b: 1).

5.3.1.1. The first civil elections and women's rights

Qatar's first civil polls - the elections for a Central Municipal Council (CMC) were held in March 1999, an event which marked the country's first step on the road to democracy. 246 candidates, including six women, registered for the 29 seats (Salih, 1999: 30). These elections were significant as examples of equal rights in action i.e. the right for men and women to have an equal chances for election for the first time. The process was as follows: the candidates declared their programmes in order that the polls should be based on the candidates' manifestos thus allowing the public to have a more informed idea of whom to vote for. The Qatari media participated crucially by giving ample media time and press coverage for the participants to present their election programmes (Anon,

2001: 4). The Municipal Council succeeded in identifying and following up certain issues which resulted in significant improvements in the social welfare and the infra structure of the capital (Fakhro, 2001:6).

5.3.1.2. The National Constitution

The process of democratisation involving the Amir's political reform programme took a further step forward in 1999 with the creation of the National Constitution Committee. The committee consisted of thirty members who were high ranking, political, and academic citizens selected by the Amir. Their main responsibilities were to lay the foundations for a national constitution leading to the establishment of an elected parliament in 2002 along the lines of the CMC, which is solely responsible for the capital, Doha (Anon, 2000a: 3).

5.3.1.3. The justice system

The system of justice is based on codified laws promulgated by Amiri decree and is administered by four courts the Commercial, Civil, Labour and Shari's (Islamic) courts. The judiciary is independent, in both its religious and civil branches, exercising the authority vested in it by the country's constitution. The Shari's (Islamic law) Court judges matters concerning the personal affairs of Muslims, certain types of offence where the defendant is a Muslim, and civil disputes where the parties elect to have the case judged according to Islamic law. The Shari's court does not try non-Muslims (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2000: 34).

5.3.2.The legal process in Qatar

5.3.2.1.The old legal process

The process of legislation in the state of Qatar has changed since 1995 and these changes have had a knock-on effect on the laws governing the state. Pre 1995 the process consisted of eight steps. Firstly the proposal for a law came from the concerned parties in the form of a draft that was forwarded to the Ministry of Justice. The latter passed it to the Legislation Department, for legal wording. It was then passed to the Constant Board for Legislative Affairs, which before was under the auspices of the Minister of Justice 1995. It was then sent to the Council of Ministers for their suggestions and after that passed to the Advisory Council. In the next stage it was sent back to the Council of Ministers to be checked before finally, it was sent to The Amir for his signature (see Figure 5.2) (Ministry of Justice, 1990:3926).

5.3.2.2.The new legal process

After 1995 the process was changed slightly. The cabinet Minister for the Council of Ministers' Affairs oversaw the whole process. To facilitate the process, the Legislation Department and the Constant Board for Legislative Affairs (CBLA) were put under the umbrella of the General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers' Affairs and not the Ministry of Justice as pre 1995. The new process is as follows. The proposed law is passed to the General Secretariat. Then it is handed to the Legislation Department and from there to the CBLA. After this it is passed to the cabinet Minister for the Council of Ministers' Affairs. The process after this is similar to pre 1995 except that the Advisory Council passes the bill with the suggested amendments back to the cabinet minister who, after checking it, passes it to the Amir for signing (Ministry of Justice, 2000: 195). Thus responsibility for law making has shifted from the Ministry of Justice to The Council of Ministers (See Figure 5.3).

5.4.The Qatari media 1971-1995

The researcher then examined the situation of the media in Qatar and the role of the Ministry of Information and Culture and its influence before 1995.

The Ministry of Information and Culture consisted of the following nine administrative departments: The Department of Printing and Publication, the Department of TV, the Department of Radio, the Culture and Arts Department, the Museums and Antiquities Department, the Department of Public Libraries, Publication and External Information, the Qatar News Agency, and the Administrative and Financial Affairs Department (Ministry of Information, 1994: 90).

Qatari Radio was founded in 1968. The first TV transmissions were broadcasted on August 15th 1970 in black and white and the second stage started in 1974 with colour transmissions. The second channel started transmissions in 1981 in English. Both were government controlled. Specialists were recruited from all over the world to give support and help in producing education programmes especially for women whose education had been limited because of cultural restrictions. The government was the only organisation which could afford to do this as no other organisation could manage this work (AL-Ibrahim, 1988: 225,243; and Ministry of Information, 1993: 93).

The Department of Radio and TV have been selected to assess the effects of the abolition of censorship firstly because of their strong influence on the average Qatari citizen. Secondly because they had been most affected by the changes which occurred after the abolition of censorship and thirdly because many journalists worked in these departments (see chapter six).

There were two types of press: the government press and the private press. In this section we are going to examine the private press, because the abolition of censorship mainly affected the private press (see chapter two). Secondly, as the private press is the main press in the eyes of the public as it contains news for the public's consumption.

The relationship between the private press and the Printing and Publication Department can be summarised as follows: firstly, this department issued licences for publishing houses, printing houses and press distributors (see the 1979 law below). Secondly, the department offered financial help to the private press to help the press emerge (Arafa, 1994: 242). Arafa, pointed out again

" The private enterprise print media in Qatar are openly subsidized by the government. This open subsidy is not just a channel of government influence over print media; rather, in many cases, it is a lifeline for these magazines without which they cannot survive " (1994: 240).

In March 1972, the '*Al Arab*' newspaper the first daily, political newspaper was issued by the AL-Orouba Press and Publishing Organisation (Mohammed and Saif Alden, 1981: 13). The AL-Khaleej Printing and Publishing House also issued two political daily newspapers: '*AL-Raya*', in 1979, and the English language '*Gulf Times*' in 1978. (AL-Dosogy et.al., 1984: 14; and Essa, 1995: 72-74). In September 1987, a new daily political newspaper '*Al-Sharq*' was launched by the AL-Sharq Printing and Publishing House (AL-Ibrahim, 1988: 300-301; Ministry of Information, 1995: 99-101; and Essa, 1995: 67).

5.4.1.The 1979 Printing and Publication Law

In 1979 Law number eight for Printing and Publications was issued (see appendix one). The main sections of this law are as follows. Section one states what areas are covered i.e. the press, newspapers, printing presses, publisher, houses, distribution houses, libraries and Broadcasting and T.V. That is to say all audiovisual and written journalism.

Section two of the law is concerned with the government's requirements and guidelines that need to be met and followed when applying for a printing press permit without which publishing is impossible. It is also concerned with the issuing of I.D. cards for journalists. This section further states that all materials to be Broadcasted or

published must be presented to a control (censor) prior to publication and that thereafter no changes are to be made to the materials without permission of the Ministry of Information. The department of the Ministry of Information that was responsible for administering section two was the Department of Printing and Publications (Ministry of Justice, 1992:3175).

Section four is concerned with slander and libel, both private and public. No alleged statements, which could be interpreted as libellous or slanderous are allowed. Furthermore there are some topics not to be reported such as religious and moral topics, or those concerned with national security or the Amir and his family.

Section seven is concerned with legal action which can be taken against defendants. This can consist of a fixed fine, shutting down the press temporarily or permanently or even jailing the responsible parties.

The final section of the law, section eight, is concerned with how the law is upheld which is the responsibility of the civil court. This law is very strictly upheld and is very similar to the laws still in use in many of the Arab countries today (see chapter 4).

5.4.2. The effects of the 1979 Law

The effects of the 1979 Printing and Publication Law and the actions of the Printing and Publication Department on the media in general were severe. Below are some examples of the 1979 law in action and the consequences of breaking it. It should be borne in mind that the articles in question were based on facts and were not the personal views of the journalists involved. The examples also emphasise that even if the journalist had legitimate evidence on his topic the law still treated him adversely if the Printing and Publication Department deemed it. Firstly there is an example of how the Printing and Publication Department worked.

5.4.2.1. The effects on the press

The control (censor) section of the Printing and Publishing Department, a strongly controlled the press as AL-Harami mentions:

"The observer from this department regularly visited the newspaper offices in the evening working hours, normally starting at 4 p.m. He used to read the newspaper word by word rejecting and removing some topics and some reporting. He removed everything that he thought likely to cause any issues against the 1979 law according to his own personal interpretation" (AL-Harami, interview, 2001).

That meant journalists had to be careful when dealing with any topic or investigating any issue. And bear in mind that the censor may reject or deleted some of their work or even reject the whole article. As a result of this journalists felt a distinct lack of support from the Ministry of Information. Sometimes, journalists were arrested because of their work and some had to leave their jobs because of a critical article that the administration did not like. For example a journalist from 'AL-Raya' newspaper said:

" I was kept in custody for 48 hours in 1988 for questioning because I had written an article criticizing medical corporations that belonged to the Ministry of Health in Qatar. The criticism was directed towards the management in charge of that corporation for its negligence. I mentioned an incident where a nurse gave the wrong medicine to a patient " (Anon, interview, 2001).

The Printing and Publishing Department demonstrated its power again in 1990 when the Iraqi war with Kuwait started. AL-Othman, a media expert, confirmed that:

" AL-Sharq newspaper issued an evening edition as the war unfolded so as to keep our readers fully informed. In that issue there were no comments or interviews with government officials or opinions on the war, but only direct reporting e.g. (what Iraq said) and (what Kuwait said) and (what the news agencies said). In other words the newspaper just reported the facts. The result of such an unrestrained approach was to close the newspaper for 16 days. The reason given was, that it was published before the censor had a chance to view it " (AL- Othman, interview, 2001).

Another example of the results of publishing without prior consent by the 'control' section occurred at the beginning of 1995:

" When the 'AL-Watan' newspaper was first to publish the final declaration of the G.C.C (Gulf Co-operation Council) conference held in Oman. The article was published before the official announcement. As a result the Minister of Information stopped publication of the AL-Watan newspaper for 3 days " (Rushdi, interview, 2001).

A further example of the results of Qatari journalism's criticism of the shortcomings of the State Ministries is the attempt made by the 'AL-Raya' newspaper to criticize the Ministry of Education in 1993. The chief editor of 'AL-Raya' newspaper at that time states:

" Wrote an article entitled 'Charity Fund' in which it was stated that an implication of a similarly named project had been the compulsory deduction of a portion of the salaries of all employees in that Ministry the money was to be paid to any employee in the event of disability, death or retirement (to his family in the case of death). The article was a response to the huge amount of correspondence received by the newspaper about this subject showing discontent, and the desire of a majority who were not willing to continue participation in that fund because it was felt to be unjust. In the article the editor offered another more democratic idea, which was to make it optional rather than mandatory for the employees to join the 'fund'. As a result of this the chief editor was suspended " (Rushdi, interview, 2001).

Thus the 1979 law had an effect on the Qatari press regarding journalists' activities as it denied journalists the right to criticise the government or private corporations. The above examples clearly demonstrate the denial of this right. AL-Othman the Qatari media expert said:

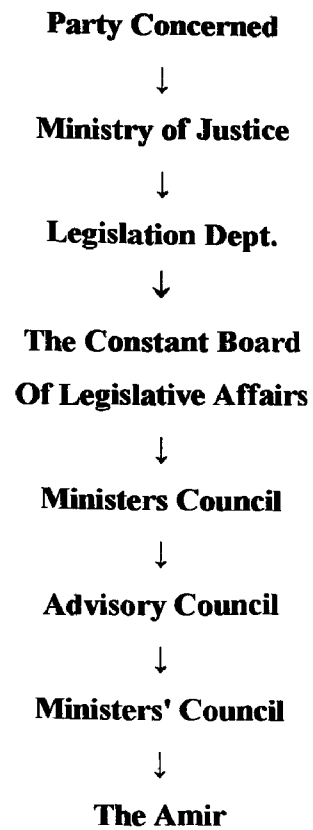
" The press was, I don't say under the care but under the control of the Ministry of Information, because it exercised censorship and introduced the 1979 law for press publication that threatened the freedom of press during those years " (Ismail, 1996: 6).

5.4.2.2. The effects on Broadcasting and TV

According to Obeidan, the deputy director of the Qatar Broadcasting Corporation *"Broadcasting and T.V. were within the sphere of the Control Department before 1995"*. In addition to that, AL-Nima, the programme supervisor of Qatar T.V. talked about his experience when he was director; *"I was not able to list any material in programme schedules because I had to prior submit the material to the control to be checked"*. The researcher asked, what the principles and criteria were against which these materials were to be checked? His answer was that the *"all material underwent checks for political, religious, moral and national security reasons and these were the main areas in which the censors made changes, prior to 1995"* (Obeidan, interview, 2001 and AL-Nima, interview, 2001). This meant that censorship caused a lot of avoidable delay in broadcasting. This delay was purely the result of the control Department's actions.

Figure (5.2)

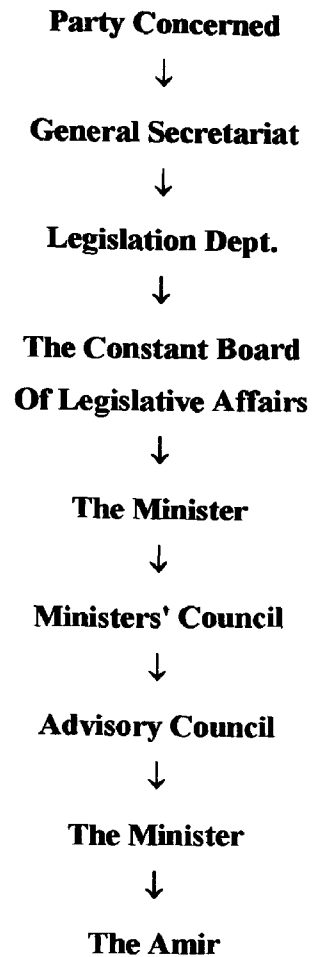
The Process of Law-making in Qatar prior to 1995



Source: Ministry of Justice, (1990: 3926)

Figure (5.3)

The Process of Law-making in Qatar post 1995



Source: Ministry of Justice, (2000: 195)

Notes to Figures 5.2 and 5.3

The Minister: The state Minister for the Council of Ministers' Affairs

Party Concern: The ministry or governmental body or general bureau.

The General Secretariat: The General Secretariat of the Council of Ministers concerned with the co-ordination between ministries.

The Legislative Board: The Constant Board for Legislative affairs concerned with amendments and alterations at every stage to subjects proposed to become law previously mentioned. It comprised the General Secretary, the Head of the Legislation Department, three members from the Amiri Diwan (House of Authority), two members from the General Secretariat and two members from the Ministry of Justice.

Legislation Department: Concerned with the legal wording of text or drafting suggestions.

Advisory Council: Members of the Council representing all the levels of society.

The Amir: The Ruler of the State.

5.5.Conclusion

It could be argued that oil was not the main reason for the changes in Qatari society rather that it was only one factor in the change. It could be that the change took place because of a combination of many different factors and reasons. For example, one of the most important reasons was contact with the West. However, despite the importance of this factor, the researcher believes that oil was the essential and decisive factor for the changes that occurred in the Qatari society. Without oil the impacts of the other factors for change would have been weakened, since without oil, it would not have been possible to achieve expansion in education, the establishment of the industrial base or the drawing up of development plans, ie. to proceed toward the establishment of the modern Qatari state.

To sum up, it can be said that the 1970s in their economic, political and educational dimensions were the beginning of an era of social change which continued until the 1990s. An era of rapid transformation from a traditional economy (pearl diving and rearing animals) to a modern economy (the oil industry), which did not take more than a quarter of century to achieve, placed Qatari society in uncharted waters to which it reacted in many different ways. These reactions created conflicts in society between traditional value systems traditional and patterns of behaviour and values associated with industrialisation. In such an era the government may have felt that censorship, as imposed by the Printing and Publication law, was necessary to ensure unimpeded development.

The 1979 law had a serious impact on the Qatari media. The control was tight as journalists in press and broadcasting were supervised and subject to pre-publication censorship as well as the threat of punishment and imprisonment. In this sense Qatar was a strongly authoritarian regime.

However, political change occurred during the mid 1990s, when a new Amir assumed power and announced freedom of the press and women's participation as well as men's

in all aspects of life. He also provided the people with the opportunity to participate in power by means of the municipal (local) elections. These developments left their impact on Qatari society as a whole, and on the media in particular. In the following chapter the researcher will consider the Qatar press after 1995.

Chapter Six The Qatari press post 1995

6.1.Introduction

This chapter deals with the factors and circumstances that led to the 1995 abolition of censorship of the press. Firstly, it reports statements by the Amir and Government ministers concerning democratization and the abolition of press censorship. It then looks at the economic, sociological, political and technological reasons for the abolition of censorship. The effects of the abolition on the press and the broadcasting media are then examined using interview extracts and finally, reasons for the delay in issuing the new Press and Publication Law are given, using extracts from an interview with the Director and the Assistant Director of the Printing and Publication Department. This department was also asked what guidelines it had for journalists during this period and these are stated.

6.2.The abolition of censorship

The implementation of the democratic process is becoming more evident in Qatari society through certain steps taken by the government (see chapter five). Certain statements made by the Amir and ministers clearly indicate the move towards democratization and, more precisely, the abolition of press censorship. For example, in a statement to the Omani News Agency's director on the 27th of October 1995 the Amir said "*I am ... keen to support... freedom ...real democracy ...and respect the opposite view*" (Anon, 1995c: 1). Moreover, focussing on the freedom of the press the Amir confirmed that, "*...the government respects freedom of the press and does not attempt to control the media*" (IPI, 2000: 249). In addition to that, the Minister of Foreign Affairs said that "*The democratic process has started*" (AL-Harami, 2001: 17). The Minister of Information at that time, AL-Kawari, declared in the 'Gulf Times' newspaper that "*controls have been lifted from the Qatari press according to directives from the Amir*"

(Anon, 1995a: 5). This declaration took place during a high level press conference held in Qatar on the freedom of the press. Moreover, AL-Kawari stated to the BBC that:

" The Qatari Press Law gives full freedom to the press, and at the same time, places obligations on it in relation to some issues such as the observation of religious and moral values, and the national interest, especially secrecy and confidentiality of matters related to the country's security and its foreign relations " (Anon, 1995d: 16).

If we look at the Amir's statement, we will see that he insists on democracy and freedom and respecting the views of others. The statement was made by the highest ranking power in the country (ie the Amir). Moreover the Foreign Minister confirmed that democracy had started in Qatar. If we look closely at the declaration of the Minister of Information we see that it is an order from the Amir. This, in effect, meant giving freedom to the Qatari Press. However, these are only short and general statements. Thus they were not specific and did not define the criteria that should be followed in terms of press freedom. As for the last declaration made by the Minister of Information to the BBC, he gave assurances that there was full freedom of the press.

However, there are still topics, which cannot be touched on such as religion, morals or matters of national security. On this point the researcher cannot find any difference from the situation before 1995 (Printing and Publication Law 1979). This statement, in effect, laid out the guidelines that should be followed by the press, as it defined their freedom and what its limitations were. It was therefore an administrative decree by the Amir, not a new law that initiated a new situation. The Qatari press experienced a lot of changes as a result of the abolition of censorship. This becomes clear when the reasons for removing censorship and examples of the huge changes that have occurred in newspapers and other mass media are examined more closely. This is done in the following section.

6.3.Factors that led to the abolition of censorship

There were many reasons for lifting the censorship from the Qatari press. These reasons had economic, social, political and technological roots. The reasons are discussed below in terms of their importance.

The first and the most important reason were economic. Government financial support to the Qatari press was terminated in 1995 shortly before the Amir's statement on the press and censorship (Mohammed, interview, 2001). This meant that private investment increased in importance. This was confirmed by the Amir in a press conference with businessmen held at the International Relations Institute in Paris in 1998 when he explained to them that by investing in Qatar they would be helping the development of the Qatari economy. He mentioned that *"the government would offer all the facilities and support that guarantees the rights of investors"* (Anon, 1998c: 5). Other economic reasons were the increase in the income of the country and also in personal income (see chapter five). The Amir confirmed this at the Advisory Council on 18th November 1996 when he said *"it is one of our top priorities that we establish a solid basis for a strong national economy that could fulfil our co-patriots wishes for the future - a higher standard of living"* (Abdal-Fattah, 1999: 9-10). Thus private investment in the Qatari economy including the media sector was officially encouraged. Private investors have their own agenda and not necessarily the Government's. Thus the 'privatisation' of the media constituted a powerful economic reason for the abolition of censorship.

The second most important reason was political, as key changes were made in the government (see chapter five). As the Amir said *"I am personally keen to maintain this democratic trend as it belongs to our age, and that we maintain the value of individual freedom, the foundation of real democracy based on law, the participation of all and the consideration of opposite opinions"* (AL-Hijawi, 1999: 3).

The third most important reason was social, such as developments in Qatari society, the increase in the population, and the literacy rate (see chapter five). As a result, the citizens became better educated and thus more discriminative and aware of the veracity of the news they received.

The fourth most important reason was technological. The world has become a global village because of technological developments such as satellites, computers, the Internet and the fax machines. Information has become easily available with this technology and this has resulted in a dialogue between cultures. For example, you can receive and transmit information between countless places anywhere in the world almost simultaneously. People strive for freedom including the freedom to know what is happening all over the world. As the Qatari Minister of Information stated:

" I think that the world is developing very fast and the understanding of press control has changed, compelling all people to change their understanding too. This is because now the whole world has become very small due to the development of information and telecommunication means such as fax, cable and satellite dishes " (AL-Harami, 1995: 16).

Thus it becomes harder for states like Qatar to control the flow of information. In addition the right to know what is happening in one's own country and in other countries of the world is becoming a demand for the people of this age. Pragmatically then, it is better to adopt democracy in word if not in practice. Thus the emergence of economic, social, political and technological factors, mentioned earlier, led the government to look carefully at the emerging Qatari society and to see what new roles the press and media could play. This was not the case in others Arab countries.

6.4.The effects of the abolition of censorship post 1995

The effect of the abolition of censorship has been on all branches of the media. Using extracts from interviews with Qatari media experts as examples, the effect on the press will now be examined.

6.4.1.The effect on the press

Below are excerpts from interviews, which illuminate the effect of the abolition of censorship on the Qatari press in a general way. Firstly, AL-Harami said:

" In addition to a reader's forum page called 'Free Pens', which contains articles by new writers, critiques or poems. Now in Qatar every newspaper has a daily column for publishing complaints and criticisms by citizens. This page has become an open venue where everybody can express his or her own viewpoint in a reasonable way. This is considered in itself as a beacon of democracy and freedom of the press purely because it does not need permission to publish views and ideas that may be radically different or even extraordinary" (AL-Harami, interview, 2001).

Secondly, as Rushdi confirmed *" Pictures of Qatari women have started to appear in pages of the daily newspapers. This was impossible before. This is in addition to women entering the field of the press "* (Rushdi, interview, 2001). This is indicative of sociological and educational development, and exposure to outside cultural influences through satellite T.V. and the Internet.

Thirdly, before 1995, the picture of the Amir was a permanent feature at the top of the right hand corner of the front page of every daily newspaper published in Qatar. But now, after 1995, the picture of the Amir is published only according to news requirements. Mohammed stated:

"If there is important news about the Amir, it will be published on the front page, but if there are more important news and events, they will be given priority and be published on the front page. On many occasions we find the picture of the Amir on the second page, if news concerning him is deemed less important. Sometimes, the Amir's picture or news is not found in the whole newspaper" (Mohammed, interview, 2001).

For Qatari society, this is considered a great development towards the freedom of the Qatari press. The press now follows the principle of publishing the news according to its importance and urgency.

The press has not stopped there but has also acted as a kind of 'Fourth Estate' in Qatar society. Here is an example of a successful attempt by the Qatari press to criticise the government and change its opinion. In 2001:

" The Qatari Minister of Power planned to impose monthly charges for water and electricity on the local people. However the 'AL-Watan' newspaper adopted a highly critical attitude towards the plan. This media opposition caused the government to change its mind " (Ali, 2001:1).

This indicated that the press is strong and independent enough to serve the welfare of the people and society. Furthermore, AL-Husani commented when asked about the effect of the 1995 change on newspapers.

" There are increasing numbers of newspaper and magazines, such as two new newspapers 'AL-Watan' in 1995 and ' Peninsula' in 1996, and four magazines 'Algala' in 1998, 'She & He' in 2000, 'Gamila' in 2001, and 'AL-Saqr' in 2001. There has been an increase in newspapers' pages since the 1980s (20 pages). At the beginning of the 1990s the number of pages was 24 and at the end, 32 pages but now the number of pages is 60, 20 of them just in the advertisement appendix. In the other forty there are articles on politics, economics, national issues, sport, religion, and morals " (AL-Husani, interview, 2001).

This development will be explained in detail in the next chapter. In addition there has been a corresponding increase in the number of journalists as Mohammed states:

" The number of journalists has increased since the 1970s. The ratio of journalists in the 1970s was (10-15) journalists to every newspaper. In the 1980s it was (20-25). In the 1990s the number of journalists increased to (40-50). And that is the number of journalists to each newspaper " (Mohammed, interview, 2001).

Finally commercial advertisements represent an important source of income for the Qatari press. As a result of the withdrawal of government subsidies to the press, every newspaper has established a special supplement for commercial advertisements. The revenue generated by advertisements has increased:

" Advertisements in newspapers during the 1970s consisted of (2-5) pages. In the 1980s this became 5-10 pages. During the 1990s it was between 10-

20 pages. That indicates a clear increase in advertisements in each newspaper" (AL-Othman, interview, 2001).

This has resulted in the appearance of 20 pages and appendices daily solely for advertisements. The advertisements in the newspapers after 1970 were unable to attract much attention and so had little impact on sales. Furthermore in the past there were very few advertisements, due to the small number of companies and corporations. Nowadays, the increase in the number of companies and markets has increased competition. A very effective way to approach customers is through advertisements in newspapers. The increase in advertising revenue is an effect of the abolition of censorship, as well as mirroring wider changes in Qatari society.

Journalists can now go to places and do things which were impossible before. For example journalists can now enter courts, take pictures of judges and defendants, follow-up cases, and obtain lawyers' opinions about some cases. The press can also publish claims and complaints and announce appearances in courts. They can also enter prisons and talk to prisoners. They can also enter schools, universities and government ministries with the purpose of exposing administrative, financial and economic corruption. All these activities were impossible prior to the abolition of censorship. As AL-Hail (2000) pointed out:

" In 1995 censorship of the domestic press in Qatar was formally lifted. Since then, the press has been essentially free. This has liberated the press from governmental interference, permitting freedom of speech and public opinion through the media ".

The examples above reflect the changes in practice. Journalists may still have the same kind of facts for their articles, which they had before 1995 (see chapter five) but the difference is that after 1995 they could be critical without the fear of pre-publication censorship or the fear of the terrible consequences that they could face if an article was printed but not approved by the censor.

6.4.2. The effects on Broadcasting and T.V

There were many effects on broadcasting and T.V as a result of the abolition of censorship. According to Obeidan, the Deputy Director of the Broadcasting Corporation

"As soon as the control over the press were lifted, the effects on broadcasting and T.V. programmes were very apparent. It was completely free, especially the pre-recorded material".

The researcher remarked that it is difficult to monitor live programmes but it is easy to monitor pre-recorded programmes and the interviewee replied *"nobody will be monitoring any of these programmes."* The researcher then asked whether there were any non-government financial backers and the answer was *"This Corporation had no private financial sources until 1995, and was solely dependent on government support"*. Questions were asked about the ownership of the Corporation and any control or censorship. The replies were that *"although broadcasting and T.V. are under the administration of the Broadcasting and T.V. Corporation they have a degree of independence regarding programmes transmitted"*. It was then asked if, as an extension of this freedom offered to the media, there were any foreign channels transmitted from Qatar and if so which they were? The answer was *"There are channels like Al Jazeera, (1996), the Emirates FM, which started in 1998, The BBC (98), The MBC (98) and Monte Carlo, (2000). All these transmissions from Qatar are according to agreements signed with Qatar Broadcasting in order to provide sites for the amplification of these channels"* (Obeidan, interview, 2001). This also means that Qatari citizens have excellent reception of these channels and thus greater exposure to 'outside' news sources, cultures and societies.

In addition to this, AL-Hitmi, the supervisor of Qatar TV, described some changes in Qatar broadcasting

"There are now two hours of live broadcasting that critically discuss problems in Qatari society. This daily programme is 'Good morning my beloved country'. Another one, which is a weekly one-hour programme, is called 'Issues and Opinions'. The T.V. also has two daily programmes.

which discuss social problems and the shortcomings of the Qatari society, 'Around the City' and 'Noon Interview'. Others include 'Public Opinion' and 'Dialogue about an Issue' which are weekly political programmes" (AL-Hitmi, interview, 2001).

6.5. The delay in issuing the new Printing and publication Law post 1995

The researcher asked the Journalist Al-Husani why the new printing and publication act had been delayed. In his answer he clarified that:

"After the abolishing of control on the Qatari press in 1995 by a statement of the Minister of Information, the Printing and Publishing Department started to prepare a draft of the new law to substitute the Act of 1979. They requested all chief editors to submit their remarks on the new law. The Department made the necessary amendments and sent them back to the editors who stated their remarks for the second time and returned them to the Department, which again amended them and sent them to the chief editors for the third time. This time the chief editors criticised the proposed law and requested that any item that legalised the imprisonment of journalists be omitted. They expressed their criticism in the press. No charges were taken against any of them but instead the Department of Printing and Publishing considered those views with concern. The Advisory Council supported the editors' remarks against the proposed law. This correspondence started in 1998 and continued until the end of 1999" (AL-Husani, interview, 2001).

This slow, continuous process may be an example of why there has been a six-year delay in issuing the new law. Moreover, the correspondence between the Printing and Publishing Department, and the chief editors could be considered as a kind of consultative process. This contrasts sharply with the implementation of the previous act, when no views or remarks were taken from the press. i.e. the press was regarded as a government mouthpiece.

The researcher asked AL-Mutawah, Director of the Printing and Publishing Department if the 1979 law was still applicable? He replied, " *we cannot, of course, apply the old law fully*". He was asked if the journalists were aware of this and whether

they had been given any guidelines to follow during this period prior to the issuing of the new law. He answered that:

"Yes, many meetings have taken place between the chief editors of the Qatari newspapers and the Minister of Information since the abolition of the control measures on the press. The minister has explained the general guidelines to be followed relating to religion, morals and national security" (AL-Mutawah, interview, 2001).

A question was asked about the possible penalties a journalist could face to which the Director replied *"the penalties for slander would apply if anything slanderous was published by a journalist or editor about an individual, company or ministry"*. The next question was who was responsible for the content of such an article? His answer was *"the journalists or writers, together with the chief editors are all responsible for the content of their work "* (AL-Mutawah, interview, 2001). This means that journalists should be aware of what they write and the chief editor should not allow any criticism without any solid documentary proof. AL-Kabi, Assistant Director of the Printing and Publishing Department added that *"after the abolition of censorship, the Qatari press had all the necessary freedom to function objectively and was absolutely free from government editorial control "*. He was asked what Government Department the Printing and Publishing Department came under and his answer was *" after the closing down of the Ministry of Information in 1996, and the establishment of the Radio and Television Corporation, the Department came under the control of the latter "* (AL-Kabi, interview, 2001).

6.6.Conclusion

In this chapter we have looked at the origins and nature of the abolition of press censorship in Qatar. We have also examined the developments in press freedom since 1995 as a result of the abolition of censorship and discussed the reasons for this in economic, social, political and technological terms. Long-term economic and social changes in Qatari society created a process of modernization. Technical change in the media created a new situation in which more external information was available. Above all, the change came as a result of the new policy of democratization pursued by The Amir.

In this chapter evidence has been presented which supports the arguments that the developments in the Qatari press have been considerable. There are now more publications albeit owned by only three companies. Editors in chief have complete control over content and are professional journalists. Revenue from advertising has increased as a result of supplements in most newspapers. The number of journalists in the country has increased. Free dialogue with readers is encouraged with new format news columns. Gender issues are now addressed in the press, and photographs of Qatari women are permitted, as are advertisements for their apparel. Finally, the Amir's photographic presence and news do not now dominate the press.

It appears that the Qatari Government's approach to these changes has been continuous and pragmatic as has been indicated in the interview extracts. It is in favour of progress and supports the democratic process generally including more freedom of the press. It has put these ideas into effect by changing the press and is in the process of drawing up a new press law in consultation with the chief editors. In the following chapter we will focus in detail on the specific impact these changes have had on the attitudes of journalists working in Qatar pre and post 1995.

Chapter Seven

Attitudes of journalists working in the Qatari press

7.1.Introduction

This chapter attempts to provide a survey of both the positive and negative aspects of the impact of the press on Qatari journalism after the abolition of censorship in 1995. In the following section the numbers of publications, their ownership, the total number of journalists employed and any increase in circulation are surveyed. The changes in the Qatari press supported by the interviews in chapter six with respect to press freedom are summarised. In the penultimate section the effects of these changes on some perspectives held by Qatari journalists are outlined using a sample of forty respondents all of whom work in the press. The perspectives include their attitudes towards the nature of press freedom and political, government, economic, moral and religious issues. Interviews conducted with Qatari journalists are also used to illustrate important points. Highlighting the most important results concludes the chapter.

7.2.General developments in the Qatari press since 1995

Table 7.1. Shows the name and type of publication, its first date of issue, who it is issued by and who owns it. It also indicates the periodicity and the general contents. These are the only newspapers and magazines published in Qatar currently. It can be seen that since 1995 a number of new publications, consisting of two newspapers and four magazines, have entered circulation. e.g. 'AL-Watan' was issued in 1995 and in the year 2000 the AL-Watan printing and publishing house launched its magazine 'Gamila'. The other newspaper 'Peninsula' was issued in 1996 in English by the 'AL-Sharq' printing and publishing house from which the 'AL-Sharq' newspaper is also issued. 'Algala' magazine was issued in 1998 while 'She & He' magazine appeared in the year 2000 and was published by the AL-Khaleej printing and publishing house which issues both the 'AL-Raya' and 'Gulf Times' newspapers. There was also the 'AL-Saqr' magazine, which

started in 2001 from the Ali Bin Ali printing house. However some publications went out of print due to the withdrawal of government financial support for example 'AL-Ahad' and 'AL-Gohara' magazines. This was also the case with 'AL-Arab' the first Qatari newspaper (AL-Husani, Interview, 2001). Table 7.1, shows that three companies and one private individual (Saad AL-Rumahi) own the press in Qatar.

Table(7.1) Qatari newspapers and magazines in circulation in 2001. (AL-Husani, interview,2001)

Name	Type	Date of Issue	Issued by	Owner	Publishing system	Contents
AL-Watan	Newspaper	1995	AL-Watan Printing & Publishing house	AL-Watan Printing House	Daily	Political, Social, Economic, Sport
AL-Sharq	Newspaper	1987	AL-Sharq Printing & Publishing House	AL-Sharq Printing House	Daily	Political, Social, Economic, Sport
AL-Raya	Newspaper	1979	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House.	Daily	Political, Social, Economic, Sport
Gulf Times	Newspaper	1978	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House.	Daily	Political, Social, Economic, Sport
Peninsula	Newspaper	1996	AL-Sharq Printing & Publishing House	AL-Sharq Printing House	Daily	Political, Social, Economic, Sport
She & He	Magazine	2000	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House.	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House	Monthly	Social
Algala	Magazine	1998	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House	AL-Khaleej Printing & Publishing House	Monthly	Social
Gamila	Magazine	2001	AL-Watan Printing & Publishing House	AL-Watan Printing House	Monthly	Social
AL-Saqr	Magazine	2001	Ali Bin Ali	Saad AL-Rumahi	Monthly	Sport

The next section examines the effects of the post 1995 changes on the attitudes of Qatari journalists.

7.3. Attitudes of journalists to issues of press freedom

This section examines the attitudes of Qatari journalists to issues of press freedom in five important areas. These are firstly, what press freedom is thought to be, primarily in terms of government interference, and dependence on government finance; secondly, how the coverage of political issues has changed and thirdly, how critical the Qatari press has become of the government. It then examines any changes in the way economic issues are covered and finally it looks at any changes in the way moral and religious matters are reported. The data was collected from the same forty respondents and the results are shown in tables (7.2) to (7.6). The researcher will use the interview results as evidence to support the results of the questionnaire.

The data in table (7.2) show that similar percentages indicate support for the notion that freedom of the press is equivalent to the lifting of pre-publication censorship and post-publication censorship ie. 65% and 60% of respondents respectively. One of the most strongly supported statements was that press freedom means freedom from direct interference from the government as 77.5% agreed or strongly agreed. This result exactly correlates with the equally strong agreement to the statement that press freedom is equivalent to freedom from laws restraining press investigations (see interview with AL-Harami in chapter five).

Table (7.2) Attitudes to press freedom amongst a sample of Qatari journalists

Statement	SD ¹	D	S	A	SA	Total
Press freedom is freedom from:						
pre-publication censorship	25.0 (10) ²	7.5 (3)	2.5 (1)	7.5 (3)	57.5 (23)	100.0
post-publication censorship	22.5 (9)	10.0 (4)	7.5 (3)	12.5 (5)	47.5 (19)	100.0
direct interference by the government	10.0 (4)	5.0 (2)	7.5 (3)	7.5 (3)	70.0 (28)	100.0
laws restraining investigations	2.5 (1)	2.5 (1)	17.5 (7)	5.0 (2)	72.5 (29)	100.0
fear of imprisonment for expressing views	12.5 (5)	2.5 (1)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)	60.0 (24)	100.0
dependence on government finance	30.0 (12)	7.5 (3)	5.0 (2)	12.5 (5)	45.0 (18)	100.0
dependence on commercial advertising revenue	45.0 (18)	15.0 (6)	12.5 (5)	10.0 (4)	17.5 (7)	100.0

¹ Key: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; S = Agree Sometimes; A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree.

² Percentages are given thus: 25.0, and the number of the sample on which they are based thus (10). The sample group in all questionnaires was 40, and answers were obtained to all questions from respondents.

72.5% of respondents agreed with the idea that press freedom represented freedom from fear of imprisonment as a result of what is published. This may indicate that a minority of respondents feel that imprisonment is a fair tool for the state to use when journalists publish what the state thinks is unsuitable. Furthermore it may reflect a time lag in the mindsets of some journalists from an authoritarian view of the state and state controlled media to a more libertarian one. The 72.5% figure represents the fact that these journalists believe that publication should not carry with it the threat of fear of imprisonment.

Perhaps another significant statistic is that 37.5% of respondents did not see continuing government financing of the press as an obstacle to press freedom, although a larger number (57.5%) did agree or strongly agree with this statement and so do see it as such. In addition this means that the end of government financing of the Qatari press has led to it look for alternative sources of income. 60% of respondents did not agree with the statement that press freedom is freedom from dependence on commercial advertising revenue. This may well reflect a pragmatic view, as private financing may well represent a more secure source than government financing. Moreover, this shows the importance of financial support, providing that this support does not affect the contents of the newspaper (see interview with AL-Othman cited in chapter six).

Thus it can be seen that the information in table (7.2) shows strong support for press freedom, but with two qualifications. Firstly, a minority still consider state aid acceptable and a majority see no contradiction between a free press and commercial financing.

As regards coverage of political issues in table (7.3) 65% of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea that this has not changed since 1995. This is reflected by the 55% of respondents who agreed or strongly agreed that it has changed considerably and the 37% that agreed or strongly agreed that it has changed in minor ways.

Table (7.3) Attitudes to political issues amongst a sample of Qatari journalists

Statement	SD ³	D	S	A	SA	Total
Since 1995 the Qatari press coverage of political issues has:						
not changed	52.5 (21) ⁴	12.5 (5)	10.0 (4)	10.0 (4)	15.0 (6)	100.0
changed in minor ways	30.0 (12)	15.0 (6)	17.5 (7)	22.5 (9)	15.0 (6)	100.0
changed considerably	20.0 (8)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)	22.5 (9)	32.5 (13)	100.0
The press:						
can discuss political issues now which it was not able to discuss prior to 1995	15.0 (6)	10.0 (4)	17.5 (7)	25.0 (10)	32.5 (13)	100.0
does not discuss political issues now which it was not able to discuss prior to 1995	65.0 (26)	5.0 (2)	5.0 (2)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)	100.0

³ Key: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; S = Agree Sometimes; A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree.

⁴ Percentages are given thus: 52.5, and the number of the sample on which they are based thus (21). The sample group in all questionnaires was 40, and answers were obtained to all questions from respondents.

Table (7.4) Attitudes to government issues amongst a sample of Qatari journalists

Statement	SD ⁵	D	S	A	SA	Total
The press is:						
now more openly critical of the government than it was before 1995	20.0 (8) ⁶	7.5 (3)	30.0 (12)	20.0 (8)	22.5 (9)	100.0
less critical of the government than it was before 1995	62.5 (25)	10.0 (4)	7.5 (3)	7.5 (3)	12.5 (5)	100.0
no more, nor less critical of the government than it was before 1995	60.0 (24)	7.5 (3)	15.0 (6)	2.5 (1)	15.0 (6)	100.0

⁵ Key: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; S = Agree Sometimes; A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree.

⁶ Percentages are given thus: 20.0, and the number of the sample on which they are based thus (8). The sample group in all questionnaires was 40, and answers were obtained to all questions from respondents.

57.5% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the press can discuss political issues now, which it was not able to discuss prior to 1995, and this supports the 70% of respondents who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the opposite statement. However 25% of respondents indicated that they thought the range of political issues, which could be covered since 1995 had not increased. It is, however, obvious that the respondents believed that the range of political issues which can be covered has increased since 1995. This shows that most of the respondents agree that some changes have definitely occurred in political attitudes (see interview with Mohammed cited in chapter six).

One aspect of this may be seen in the data in table (7.4) which shows the respondents' feelings regarding their criticism of the government. 42.5% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that the press is now more openly critical of the government. In addition 72.5% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the notion that the press was less critical of the government. A similar high percentage 67.5% disagreed with the notion that the situation regarding this issue has not changed. The response to these statements clearly indicates that the respondents felt that the press is more openly critical of the government than it was in 1995, although the percentage of those that agreed with this statement was less than the percentage that disagreed with the opposite one (see interview with AL-Harami cited in chapter six).

With regard to attitudes concerning the coverage of economic issues table (7.5) indicates that the strongest response was 75% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing with the statement that coverage of economic issues has not changed. The next strongest response was 50% agreeing with the statement that it has changed considerably. Even so, 32.5% still thought the change was small and not big enough (see chapter five). This may reflect the development and diversification of the Qatari economy as the 'change' may represent an increase in the range and type of topics covered since 1995.

Table (7.5) Attitudes to economic issues amongst a sample of Qatari journalists

Statement	SD ⁷	D	S	A	SA	Total
Since 1995 the Qatari press coverage of economic issues has:						
not changed	57.5 (23) ⁸	17.5 (7)	7.5 (3)	2.5 (1)	15.0 (6)	100.0
changed in minor ways	30.0 (12)	12.5 (5)	25.0 (10)	15.0 (6)	17.5 (7)	100.0
changed considerably	20.0 (8)	10. (4)	20.0 (8)	17.5 (7)	32.5 (13)	100.0

⁷ Key: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; S = Agree Sometimes; A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree.

⁸ Percentages are given thus: 57.5, and the number of the sample on which they are based thus (23). The sample group in all questionnaires was 40, and answers were obtained to all questions from respondents.

The last table (7.6) indicates the respondents' attitudes to how firstly moral and secondly religious issues have changed since 1995. The strongest response to the first issue was that 65 % of respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that coverage has not changed. Moreover, 45 % disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that it has changed in minor ways. However this first result is contradicted by the fact that only 37.5% of respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that it had changed considerably. The issue of coverage of morals presents a paradox, which may be explained by the fact that although the new law is as yet unpublished, journalists are perhaps unaware that the old press law will not be fully applied (see interview with AL-Mutawah cited in chapter six). They are therefore less confident about making judgements about the extent of the change in coverage of moral issues. Qatari newspapers are more consistent on moral issues because, as the Minister of Information mentioned, prior to the abolition of censorship, moral issues were one of the prohibited topics. However, they are trying to discuss these constructively.

The last issue is religion. The strongest response was that 72.5% strongly disagreed or disagreed with the statement that coverage of religious issues has not changed. 57.5% disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that it has changed in minor ways. However only 35% agreed or strongly agreed that coverage has changed considerably. These suggest that the majority of respondents does not see the changes which have occurred as considerable. It may also reflect caution about stating that there has been considerable change in an area as sensitive as religion, which is likely to be an area covered by any new law.

Table (7.6) Attitudes to moral/religious issues amongst a sample of Qatari journalists

Statement	SD ⁹	D	S	A	SA	Total
Since 1995 the Qatari Press coverage of moral issues has:						
not changed	55.0 (22) ¹⁰	10.0 (4)	10. (4)	7.5 (3)	17.5 (7)	100.0
changed in minor ways	27.5 (11)	17.5 (7)	25.0 (10)	17.5 (7)	12.5 (5)	100.0
changed considerably	45.0 (18)	7.5 (3)	10.0 (4)	20.0 (8)	17.5 (7)	100.0
Since 1995 Qatari press coverage of religious issues has:						
not changed	60.0 (24)	12.5 (5)	5.0 (2)	0.0 (0)	22.5 (9)	100.0
changed in minor ways	40.0 (16)	17.5 (7)	17.5 (7)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)	100.0
changed considerably	50.0 (20)	2.5 (1)	12.5 (5)	12.5 (5)	22.5 (9)	100.0

⁹ Key: SD = Strongly Disagree; D = Disagree; S = Agree Sometimes; A = Agree, SA = Strongly Agree.

¹⁰ Percentages are given thus: 55.0, and the number of the sample on which they are based thus (22). The sample group in all questionnaires was 40, and answers were obtained to all questions from respondents.

7.4. Conclusion

In this chapter evidence has been presented which supports the arguments that the developments in the Qatari press have been considerable and provides answers to the questions that were put forward in chapter two. Since 1995 there have been a number of new publications albeit owned by only three companies. There is more editorial control over content and all journalists are seen as professionals. The press is free and receives no subsidies from the government. Thus the amount of advertising in newspapers has increased, partly to make up for this lack of government revenue. In addition, as discussed in chapter six, the number of journalists has increased, interactive news columns exist in which dialogues with readers are encouraged and gender issues are now addressed as a result of which photographs of Qatari women appear in the press. Finally the Amir's presence does not take such prominence in the press as it did in the past.

The above developments are mirrored by the results represented in tables 7.1 to 7.6 above. Qatari journalists have indicated that the way in which political, governmental, economic, and moral and religious issues are covered by the press has changed. These changes have not, in the view of the respondents, been uniform, but they perceive real changes nonetheless. Most importantly they suggest that the respondents see real gains in press freedom in Qatar. These changes have yet to be confirmed by the law, which may explain, in part, the respondents' caution on moral and religious issues. The following chapter will examine the results and the outcomes of the thesis

Chapter Eight

Conclusions

8.1.Introduction

This thesis has focussed on freedom of the press in Qatar pre-1995 and more particularly post-1995, in the context of Western countries and Arab states. 1995 was the pivotal year, as it was the date of the Amir's statement in which he ordered the Ministry of Information to abolish press censorship. This chapter summarises the main points of the thesis, and presents its findings on the state of press freedom in Qatar. It places these findings within the context of the models of press freedom in the Arab and the Western political systems. Finally the work is reflected on and recommendations are made for further research into this subject.

8.2.Summary of the thesis

The first chapter introduces the thesis and its aims and looks at the significance of the work by briefly examining the material that already exists on the press in Qatar. It then outlines the structure of the thesis, briefly summarising the contents of each of the remaining chapters. The second chapter outlined the methods and methodologies used for this study. These were a literature review, a questionnaire about the effect of the Amir's statement on a range of topics, including press freedom, and the coverage of political, government, economic, moral and religious issues. The questionnaire was administered to forty journalists, representing 25% of all journalists in Qatar. The third research tool was interviews. The main aim of the research at this point was to find out in more depth the views of journalists on the changes since 1995.

The third chapter briefly looked at the provision for freedom of the press in international human rights conventions worldwide and found it to be universal. It was pointed out that although this is the case, the interpretation of these provisions might be very different from one society to another. Two ways of understanding freedom of the press were then looked at, firstly as a negative freedom and secondly as a positive freedom. An important distinction was made between the two. In a country, which interprets freedom of the press as a positive liberty, there is legislation specifically concerned with the press and other forms of media, to ensure that freedom, and to limit any constraints. Traditionally no such legislation exists in a country, which sees freedom of the press as a negative freedom. Using these two ways of looking at the freedom of the press, four models of the press, which have evolved, were also examined in different cultural, political, religious and philosophical contexts. Models in selected Western countries were then outlined, examining what the press legislation was, if any, and commenting briefly on its implications for press freedom. This provided a context for viewing press issues in the Arab world. Equally the approaches surveyed in this chapter provided a context in which to evaluate press freedom in both the Arab World and in Qatar in particular.

Chapter four looked at press freedom in the Arab world and, using Siebert et al.'s categorisation, grouped major Arab countries as having either strong or less authoritarian controls on press freedom. It looked at legislation concerned with the press in these countries and its implications. It was pointed out that in some countries censorship has been officially revoked only to be replaced by self-censorship, carefully monitored by the state. It was pointed out that deciding which category a country belongs in is not always easy, because of the shifting internal and regional political background.

Chapter five looked briefly at Qatar pre-1995. It presented some geographical, social and economic background and current information on the country. It concluded that from the beginning of the state of Qatar up to now has been a time of great economic, social, cultural and educational change as a result of primarily the income from the oil and gas. These great changes exerted pressures on the society and the government. The chapter provided an overall view of the press in Qatar pre-1995 and it described the then

legislative process and the media law. It then went on to look at the effects of pre-1995 controls effects on the media and journalists.

Chapter six dealt with the factors and circumstances that led to the Amir's 1995 statement on the press. It outlined the statements made by the Amir and government ministers about democratization and the press. The economic, political, sociological and technological contexts of the statements were then briefly surveyed. The effects of the statements on the press and broadcasting media were then examined using interviews extracts and finally reasons for the delay in issuing the new Press and Publication Law were outlined using extracts from an interview with the assistant Director of the Printing and Publication Department. The Qatari government's approach to these changes has been pragmatic and cautious. The government supports the democratic process generally and is in favour of bringing in more press freedom gradually. It has put these ideas into effect through the 1995 statement and is in the process of drawing up a new press law in consultation with the chief editors.

In chapter seven, evidence obtained from the questionnaire and interviews was presented to assess the extent to which the developments in the Qatari press have represented a definite move to more press freedom and the extend to which they have resulted in a change in journalists' attitudes to five important areas.

8.3.Results and findings

The universal declarations on human rights surveyed here generally contain, in principle, support for freedom of expression (chapter three). However there is usually a second, more specific article, concerned with the duties and responsibilities attached to this freedom of expression. Each country interprets these duties and responsibilities and the ways in which they are to be implemented according to their religious, cultural, social and economic background. As Street argues:

" No state, whatever its constitution, tolerates complete freedom of expression. All states operate codes which provide for restrictions on the content of videos, films and television programmes. What freedom means, and what limits should apply to it, form part of an endlessly evolving political debate" (2001: 250).

For example, in strongly authoritarian Arab countries discussion of the ruling elites, religion and the government is allowed only if it is expressed in a supportive manner (Chapter four). In some countries, freedom of expression means freedom to criticise the government, in others it may be felt to be a freedom to receive outside satellite T.V. In other words, authoritarian governments interpret the terms freedom of expression in order to exercise control over this freedom. All governments retain some control, even the most libertarian ones. As Street again states:

" In each case, the assumption is that, in establishing the political order, the place and function of the mass media has to be clearly demarcated. For one state, this means protecting press freedom; for another, it means restricting press freedom" (ibid: 250).

Before the abolition of the Ministry of Information, there were three major factors which dominated the relationship between the Ministry and the press. These were: financial support given by the Ministry to the press, the licences issued by the Ministry for the publication of newspapers and magazines under the Printing and Publication Law 1979, and the use of surveillance (chapter five). The first issue has been resolved by removing government financial support to the press. The second issue has not been resolved but is no longer the responsibility of the Ministry of Information but of the Radio and TV Corporation's Printing and Publication Department (see interview with AL-Kabi, cited in chapter six). The procedure now is shorter and quicker involving fewer government officials. The third factor has become very much restricted to monitoring the coverage of religion and national security. As Dr Bashir, an academic pointed out *" the surveillance will stay, in one way or another, because it is a public, political, cultural and intellectual need "* (Ismail, 1996: 6).

Despite this, since 1995 changes in the supervision of the press have provided more freedom than before. As the academic AL-Musfir, has argued:

" The role of the press after the abolition of the Ministry of Information and the control over the press is a modern step forward provided that the information media is used in the best way " (Ismail, 1996: 6).

The main reason for the abolition of censorship of the press was the Amir's interest in and aim of making Qatar a democratic nation. The political, social, technological, and economic changes were also important factors in bringing about the freedom of the press. The first of the three factors are shared by Qatar's neighbours. The last factor, economics, is the most important one because the Amir thinks that in order to attract multi-national companies' investment in Qatar, in order to increase the standard of living, the country should be seen by the multi-nationals as being the most liberal and democratic in the region (see chapter six). Furthermore, there is more evidence to show why economics is an important factor. Firstly, in 1971 Qatar stopped being a British Protectorate as part of the Gulf Trucial States and Oman and became a free state albeit an autocratic one, recognised by the United Nations, able to provide a good infrastructure due to the revenue provided by the oil and gas industries (see chapter five). Secondly, in 1995 Qatar started the democratization process in order to attract foreign investment (see chapter six).

This research has shown that after the abolition of censorship in 1995 (see chapter six) many changes took place in the Qatari press. These can be summarised as follows: firstly there were changes in the control of the press, for example The Ministry of Information was abolished and replaced by the Radio and TV Corporation. This is an improvement. Amin has argued that *"Qatar closed its Information Ministry, entering a new era in the development of the mass media "* (2001: 36). This is because the Radio and TV Corporation has made bureaucratic procedures much quicker and is now only partly dependent on the government for programme content, and less dependent on the government for finance (see interviews with Obeidan and AL-Hitmi cited in chapter six). Also the censor who used to visit the newspaper on a daily basis (chapter five) was removed (chapter six). This is an improvement because the delay in printing daily

newspapers has been minimised, since authorisation from the censor is no longer needed. Government financial control of the press was totally removed in 1995. This had both a negative effect and some positive effects. The negative result was that some newspapers ceased to exist (chapter seven). The positive effects were that journalists could criticise the government without fear of financial retaliation (chapter six). A second type of change is the growth of the press industry. For example there has been an increase in the number of journalists, (40-50) in each newspaper. Two new newspapers, 'AL-Watan' in 1995 and Peninsula in 1996 and four magazines, 'Agala' in 1998, 'She & He' in 2000, 'Gamila' and 'ALSaqr' in 2001 have been published. There are now usually twenty pages for advertisements and forty pages of content. Every newspaper has developed up to six **appendices: political, governmental, economic, moral, religious and sport**. These new publications are completely independent of the government (see chapter six). This increase in the press industry has resulted in more articles about a greater range of topics and so more freedom of choice for the writers and readers. Moreover, journalists felt they were now able to criticise the framework and structures of the government, and be more critical on matters of politics and economics. Nevertheless they are still held responsible for the consequences of their work (chapter seven). Pre 1995 criticism of the Ministry of Education led to the chief editor of the newspaper concerned losing his job (chapter five) whereas criticism of the Ministry of Power post 1995 led to the abolition of a plan to introduce water and electricity bills (chapter six). The researcher could find no evidence of a journalist being arrested post 1995. However, this does not mean that no journalist has been arrested during this period.

There is still no new press law. The delay is due to the lengthy bureaucratic procedure involving the government and the chief editors of all the papers (of which two are new) plus the fact that the ramifications of the new law may affect many other aspects of **government and so, although the Amir wants the new law to be issued quickly, it must involve a long process of six or seven years**. Until the new law has been issued, the old law will be only partially implemented i.e. those sections concerned with the Amir, his family, religion, moral issues and national security (see interview with AL-Mutawah cited in chapter six).

Thus having considered the nature of the changes in press freedom in Qatar, it is now important to assess the changes in relation to other Arab countries. The dominant model in the Gulf States is a variety of authoritarian control. The country most similar to Qatar on this issue is Kuwait. There are similarities between the countries, including the form of government (hereditary rule), population, language, religion, and the number of newspapers and magazines, laws, customs and traditions. However most of these similarities are shared with many other countries in the Gulf region. There are more specific reasons why the Kuwaiti and Qatari approaches to press freedom are similar. These are as follows. Firstly, both Kuwait and Qatar have started the process of democratization. Kuwait already has a parliament chosen by the electorate and this will happen in Qatar in 2002 (chapter five). Furthermore, Doha, the capital of Qatar, has a Municipal Council chosen by the electorate. Male and female candidates stand for election in both countries. Secondly, both countries lifted controls on the press, in 1986 in Kuwait (chapter four) and in 1995 in Qatar (chapter six) Thirdly, only certain subjects like Islam, the ruling elite, and matters considered to threaten national security are subject to censorship, and finally, articles critical of the government are to be found in the press of both countries.

The findings of this study give support to the IPI (Report's) judgement that "*Qatar is one of the most liberal powers in the Arab world in relation to press freedom and expression*" (2000: 249). That there has been a democratic change in press freedom in Qatar in recent years compared to the pre-1995 era (see chapter six). Nonetheless, the most accurate way of considering the press in Qatar is that it remains an authoritarian system of control but one which has shifted since 1995 to a less authoritarian model. For in spite of the considerable advances since 1995 there is still no Press Law guaranteeing press freedom. According to Sommerlad, (chapter three) press freedom means everyone has the right to express his or her opinion without interference from the state. This is not the case currently in Qatar so we cannot say that it is not an authoritarian model. Freedom depends on the will of the Amir and public sensibilities, and journalists still run the risk

of prosecution. There is no doubt though, that compared to the situation before 1995 Qatar has taken major steps towards liberalising its press controls.

As Curran points out " *the media should monitor the full range of state activity, and fearlessly expose abuses of official authority* " (2000: 121). Clearly, this situation has not arrived in Qatar. As Keane, (1991: 10-20; cited in Street, 2001:254) points out, liberal approaches to government and the press go back to the 17th and 18th centuries in the Western countries, and the state of social and political development obviously differs between the Western and the Arab world. Throughout the Arab world the press remains controlled in ways it is not in the UK, USA and Western Europe. The state in Arab countries maintains strong control but Qatar has taken steps towards the 'Western model'. Up to now the authorities have, in fact, maintained the tradition of lifting controls rather than of enacting rights which is indicative more of a negative than a positive model of press freedom. This might change, however, once the proposed Press Law is enacted.

8.4.Reflection

Hindsight is a very useful thing and so it is worthwhile to reflect on the thesis. The topic chosen could not be improved on by the researcher because it represented an opportunity to do pioneering work on the Qatari media post 1995. If the new press law had been published prior to the completion of this research then the research would have been more complete as one might have had an indication about whether freedom of the press in Qatar was developing as a positive or negative freedom.

The methods and methodologies used to collect the data were chosen for practical and theoretical reasons which are still valid. The questionnaire would be easy to administer logistically by post and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods as was used in this research is mentioned in the literature.

The interview questions were devised after the questionnaire had been piloted and implemented. This enabled the researcher to use the results from the questionnaires to produce the interview questions in order to clarify, expand and enlarge on the data from the questionnaires. However, in the current work the interviews were not piloted due to this not being in the time frame for the fieldwork and for the additional expense it would have entailed. On reflection the questionnaires and the interviews could have been piloted in tandem. This would entail planning and constructing the interview questions at the same time as the questionnaires. This would result in firstly reducing expenses and time, leading to a shortening of the time frame for the fieldwork. Secondly, the feedback between the two methods would be more immediate. Moreover using the two methodologies in tandem could lead to a more precise analysis of the data using discourse and text analysis for example.

In addition to that if the research were extended, the questionnaire structure would be that of a semi structured one using both open and closed ended questions, as this would give the respondents more freedom to express their opinions and ideas. Finally, the respondents would be asked if they wanted to contact the researcher to discuss the topic of the research. The sample of respondents would also be much larger.

The reason why the researcher did not try a content analysis as a methodology was because the researcher adopted a very general look at different sections (e.g. press freedom, politics, governments, economics, morals and religious issues) of Qatari newspapers to look at the effect of the abolishment of censorship on them. Although the 'Al Jazeera' channel is the most famous in Qatar, If not the Arab world, the reason the researcher chose not to include it is that this channel focuses on international Arab news and does not focus on domestic Qatari issues.

On reflection the researcher would not changed the criteria used to select the interviewees however, if the work were extended and there were female journalists that matched these criteria they would be asked to participate in the interview. In Qatar if someone agrees to complete a questionnaire or take part in an interview this agreement

means that his/her name and word can be used unless they specifically state that they wish to remain anonymous. Therefore the prepared informed consent forms were not used. However, if the researcher proposed to do other work or new work he would try to use the consent forms and explain the legal benefits for the respondents and himself in the event of legal complications arising as a result of the research.

The major problems in this research were ones of language and logistics as the researcher is an Arabic speaker based in South Wales for most of the duration of the research. If an interview had not been used the logistics would have been easier but the data not as complete as information obtained directly from government sources was superficial. The results of the questionnaire and interview strongly supported the conclusions of the thesis. If the work were extended the time spent on background reading and the literature review would be less, leaving more time for the obtaining of data through fieldwork.

As a result of completing this thesis the researcher has benefited in the following areas; language, I.T. skills and academic confidence. In particular how to use research time more efficiently. The researcher has also acquired a rounded knowledge of the different states of freedom of the press throughout the western and Arab worlds. The researcher feels that he has a clearer understanding of the role of the press in society and the standing of the press in Qatar and Qatari society in general in relation to other countries.

8.5.Recommendations for further work

The present study is one of the first of its kind on freedom of the press in Qatar after the 1995 statement (chapter six). However, due to the limitations of the present study in terms of time, it was not possible to undertake a more comprehensive survey. It is recommended that further studies be carried out, using a more detailed and wide-ranging questionnaire and interview techniques. Such a comprehensive survey would help generate more information about developments in the Qatari press since 1995. In addition, further study might involve content analysis of publications to map the changes.

Also there is room for a detailed study of the working practices and experiences of journalists in the new climate.

Some of the remaining questions that will need further research after the new Press Law is passed, are: Will the new law protect the journalists? What will happen if journalists criticise national morals, religion or security? How will the new law punish journalists? Will they lose their jobs or not? Will articles on important issues be sacrificed for more advertising space? Will the editor-in-chief still be subject to prosecution danger if any journalists in their newspaper break the law? Will there be limitations on the freedom of the press? What will be the influence of newspaper owners on journalists and the content of the press? What will be the role of the press in the democratisation process?

This study has been just a start, but, it is hoped, an important one. Which has provided a useful and valid description of the development of the press in Qatar as a result of the Amir's order to the Minister of Information in 1995 to abolish press censorship.

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Appendix One

1979 Printing and Publication Law

Section One: General Definitions

Article (1): The following words will have the meanings below, unless the context requires otherwise.

Prints: Writings, drawings, disks, recording tapes, photographs and all other means of expression circulated.

Press: Any newspaper or magazine or printed material issued under such a name serially, at regular times or irregular times.

Owner of the Printing Press: The natural or legal person who is producing the publication.

Journalism: The trade of issuing the publications.

The Journalist: Any one who choose journalism as a job or a source of living. This includes work as a writer in the publications, providing it with news and investigations and all other journalistic materials such as photographs, drawings.

The Printing Press: Any equipment used for producing prints on paper, textile or other materials. This definition does not include typewriters, photographic instruments or photocopiers.

The Publisher: The natural or legal person who undertakes the publication of any print.

The Publishing House: Any establishment, which undertakes the preparation, and issuance of prints with the purpose of selling it.

The Distribution House: Any establishment which undertakes the distribution of prints or their its selling through bookshops or newsagents.

The Library: Any establishment, which undertakes the selling and distribution of prints and books in specific place.

Regular Company: Any company other than stock company.

Prints & Publication Admonition: Prints and Publication administration of the Ministry of Information.

Section Two: Publications

Article (2): It is a condition for issuing any publication in Qatar, to have a written permit from the Minister of Information.

Article (3): The request for a permit for issuing the publication should include the following data, supported by documents: One: Name of the publication's owner, surname, nationality and place of residence. Two: Name of the editor in chief or the responsible editors and the publisher, if any, and their nationalities and place of residence. Three: Name of the publication, address of its administration and the printing press where it is to be printed. It is not permitted to have the same name or similar name of an already existing publication. Four: The language of the press and dates of issue. Five: Stating whether the publication is political or non-political. The owner should sign the application of the publication, the editor-in-chief or the responsible editors and by the

publisher, if any. The application is to be submitted to the Prints & Publications Administration against a receipt.

Article (4): Any changes occurring in the data included in the application for licensing the issuance of a publication, should be reported to the Prints & Publications Administration eight days, before at the maximum, from its effect.

Article (5): The owner of the publication deposits with his licensing request an amount of three thousand Riyals for each publication issued three times or more per week, two thousand Riyals for other cases for the purpose of guaranteeing the coverage of fines and the expenses which might be included in any verdict against the publication owner or its editor-in-chief. This deposit can be substituted by a bank guarantee.

Article (6): The owner of the printing press should make up the deposit or the bank guarantee wherever it is reduced as a result of deducting the fines and expenses referred to in the previous article. If he does not do this automatically, he must make up the deposit or the bank guarantee within eight days from the date of giving him notification from the Print and Publication Administration to do so.

Article (7): It is not permissible for any publication outside Qatar to move its place of issue to Qatar, whether this movement is through a separate issue or a supplement, or any other form, without a written permit from the Minister of Information, and according to the above mentioned requirements.

Article (8): It is not permissible to work for issuing a publication before getting the necessary permit and licensing for it.

Article (9): The owner of the publication should be: One: A Qatari. Two: Not less than twenty-one years old and should have full legal capacity. Three: Should not have a criminal conviction before or penalized for any crime of honour or trust, unless he has been rehabilitated. Four: Should be of good conduct.

Article (10): It is a condition for working in the press trade, to have a written license from the Prints & Publication Administration.

Article (11): All the conditions mentioned in Article (9) should be satisfied by the journalist. In addition, he should satisfy the following conditions: One; He should be fluent in Arabic language or the language of the publication in which he is working, if it is issued in a foreign language. Two; He should not be bound with any work relations with a foreign country.

Article (12): A journalist can be a non-Qatari citizen and in such case he should satisfy all the conditions mentioned in Articles (9) and (11) except the condition of nationality.

He should also satisfy the following conditions: One; He should have a certificate from one of the sanctioned institutes or colleges and have practised journalism in one of the known journalistic establishments for at least three years, or he must be registered under one of the Journalism or Editors trade unions, or hold a journalism identification card from any official department in his country. Two; He should not practice any other job than journalism.

Article (13): Each publication should have an editor-in-chief who will be responsible and have actual supervision over all its contents, or a number of responsible editors-in-chief, each one of them should have actual supervision over a specific section in it.

Article (14): The editor-in-chief should satisfy all the conditions mentioned in Articles (9) and (11). He should also satisfy the following conditions: One; He should have a level of culture and experience which enables him to practice his job. Two; He should

reside permanently in Qatar. It is possible to exempt the editor-in-chief from an Arab country from the condition of being a Qatari, and in such a case, he should satisfy the following conditions: One; He should have a certificate from one of the sanctioned institutes or colleges and have practised journalism in one of the known journalistic establishments for at least ten years. Two; He should be registered under one of the journalism or editors trade unions, or hold a journalists' identification card from any official department in his country. Three; He should not practice any other work other than journalism. Exempting the editor-in-chief from the condition of the Qatari nationality should be by a decree from the Minister of Information in which the name of the editor in chief, his nationality and the duration of occupying this position are stated. The duration should not exceed two years, unless it is renewed from another similar period or periods by a new ministerial decree.

Article (15): The name of the publication owner, editor-in-chief, the publisher if any and the printing press on which it is printed if it does not own one, should be written clearly on each issue as well as the date of issue, the subscription cost and the price of the single issue.

Article (16): The editor-in-chief should publish, freely, all the official declarations and statements of public benefits which are sent to him by the Prints & Publications administration, on the first issue of the print following his reception of these declarations and statements.

Article (17): If any publication, published in Qatar, has published news or articles that includes false or incorrect information that damages the public interest, the manager of the Prints & Publications Administration has the right to ask the editor-in-chief to publish the correction or the negation sent to him. The publication should publish this correction or negation free of charge in the issue following the reception of this correction or negation and in the same place and using the same style and font in which the original information was published. This law is applicable for all Arabic or foreign publications distributed in Qatar. If the publication does not respond to the request, the Minister of Information has the right to issue a decree prohibiting its publishing or distribution in Qatar.

Article (18): If the publication published an article or news including insinuation, slander or insult for a specific person, then this person has the right to answer or reply to this in the way stated in the previous Article. If the reply exceeds the size of the article or news, the editor-in-chief has the right to ask for payment for the excess area according to publication approved rates for notices.

Article (19): If the person who has the right to reply has died, then his heirs or one of them will have the right to reply. According to the two Articles referred to previously, if the insinuation, slander or insult is directed towards a public service employee or one of the legal persons such as ministers, official or non-official corporations, then each one of them has the right to reply separately in accordance with the previously mentioned laws.

Article (20): The editor-in-chief has the right to refuse publishing the reply in the following cases: One; if the publication itself has corrected the article or news in a suitable way. Two; if the reply bears an anonymous or incorrect signature. Three; if the reply is written in another language than that of the publications. Four; if the reply includes information or statements the publication of which will expose the publication for liability or it includes statements or expressions contradicting decency or

harming the publication or other persons. Five; if the press receives the reply after the elapse of sixty days from the date of publishing the material to be corrected.

Article (21): If the publication refuses to publish the reply for any other reason than one of the above mentioned reasons, then the Minister of Information has the right to issue a decree compelling the publication to publish it, and in such a case the publication should abide by this decree and publish the said reply. No one has the right to appeal against this decree to any court.

Article (22): All publications issued in Qatar are not allowed to publish any notice or statement from a foreign state or corporate organisation without the approval of the Minister of Information. An exception to this is commercial advertisements that are published in accordance with the rates of advertisements approved by the publication.

Article (23): Every publication should deliver to the Prints & Publications Administration six free copies of its issues or supplements, as soon as they are issued, against a receipt.

Article (24): It is permissible, by a decree from the cabinet of ministers, to suspend the publication for not more than one year or cancel its license if it is proved that its policy contradicts the national interests, or if it is evident that its policy serves the interests of a foreign country or if it is getting support or assistance of any type from any foreign state or party, without a permit from the Minister of Information.

Article (25): It is permissible, in exceptional cases, where the public interests necessitates, to take urgent actions, to stop the publication, by a decree from the Minister of information, for not more than three months.

Article (26): The owner of the publication has the right to appeal against the decree of suspension, stoppage or cancellation of the license, to the cabinet of Minister, within one month from the date of this decree. The decree of the cabinet of Minister issued in such case will be final and cannot be appealed against anywhere.

Article (27): The Minister of Information has the right to cancel the license given to any publication, by a decree from him, in the following cases: One; If the owner of the publication requests its cancellation. Two; If the publication is not published within six months from the date of its licensing. Three; if the publication is not published regularly for a period of six months, in case it is one of the publications that are issued regularly and on specific dates. Or, if the publication has stopped for six consecutive months, in case it is one of the publications which are issued regularly but not on specific dates. Four; In case of any change in the publication which contravenes one of the conditions stated in the law. Five; If its owner did not complete the deposit or the bank guarantee according to Article (6). Six; if its owner died and his heirs are not able to publish it regularly during the year following his death.

Article (28): The owner of the publication has the right to transfer the ownership of the publication to another Qatari citizen, on condition that the Minister of Information approves in writing. The new owner will be subjected to all provisions of this law.

Article (29): The provisions of this law apply to the news agencies which supply the publications establishments with the news, pictures, drawings and all journalistic materials. Journalists who are working as correspondents for Arab or foreign news agencies, publications, radios, or TV stations, cannot undertake their activities in Qatar before getting a written permit from the Prints & Publications Administration.

Section Three: Prints and the Publisher

Article (30): It is a condition for owning, investing in or operating a print to acquire a written permit from the Prints and Publications Administration. The request for licensing should include the following data: One: Name of the company or person owner, age, place of birth, nationality and place of residence. Two: Type of the print, the machines used in it, its location and its name (if any). Three: Name of the responsible manager, his age, place of birth, nationality and place of residence. Four: Number of the commercial register.

Article (31): Any changes occurring in the data included in the application of licensing mentioned in the previous Article, should be reported to the Prints & Publication Administration within eight days of its occurrence. The Prints & Publications Administration has the right to cancel the licence if this change resulted in negligence of one of the provisions stated by the law.

Article (32): It is not permissible to start work as a company or person before the license referred to in Article (30) is acquired.

Article (33): Both the company or person owner and executive manager should be Qatari's, aged twenty one at the minimum, with full legal capacity, having no previous criminal conviction or having been convicted of any crime of honour or trust, unless he has been rehabilitated.

Article (34): It is not permitted to start typing any publication unless a license is acquired from the Prints & Publications Administration. The licensing application is to be submitted to the Administration, attached with a copy of the materials to be published, written by typewriter or hand.

Article (35): Any publication published by the company or person should have the name of publisher, address and date of publication in a prominent place on it.

Article (36): When a composed or translated publication is published, the company or person owner or its responsible manager should deliver two free copies of it to the Prints & Publications Administration, against a receipt.

Article (37): The provision of Articles (34), (35) and (36) are not applicable to commercial or private publications.

Article (38): The owner of the company or person or its responsible manager should keep special records showing the serial of the titles of the publications published or ready for publication, the names of the owners, the number of issues printed and the date of publication. This record is kept in the company or person premises and the concerned authority has the right to check this record, it necessary.

Article (39): It is a condition for establishing a print to acquire a written license from the Prints & Publications Administration. The licensing application should include the following information: One: Name of the license applicant, his age, place of birth, nationality and place of residence. Two: Name of the printing house and its location. Three: Name of its responsible manager, age, place of birth, nationality and place of residence. Four: Name of the company or person in which this house is printing its publications, name of its owner, the responsible manager and the company's place or residence.

Article (40): Any changes to the data and information included in the licensing request or application should be reported to the print & Publications Administration within eight

days from its occurrence. The Prints & Publication Administration has the right to cancel the license if this change results in negation of any of the provisions of the law.

Article (41): If the printing house is a regular company, its authorized manager should sign the request for licensing, but if the printing press is a joint stock company, then the application should be signed by the chief of its board of directors or his deputy or the delegated member. In such case the application should be attached with the list of names of members of the board of directors, their nationalities and place of residence each. Also a copy of the basic system of the company and its commercial registration should be attached.

Article (42): It is not permissible for the publication house to start work before acquiring the license referred to in article (39).

Article (43): The Publication House owner and/or its responsible executive director should be a Qatari national, who at least twenty-one year of age. He should be of full legal capacity, never being convicted before for any criminal action or a crime against honour or honesty unless he has been rehabilitated.

Article (44): The Publication house owner or its responsible manager is not permitted to have work ties with any foreign state and it is not permissible for one person to be a manager or chief responsible for more than Publication house at the same time.

Article (45): The name and the address of the publisher should be written clearly on the front or last page of any publication issued from the publication house.

Section Four: Issues Banned from Publication

Article (46): It is not permissible to challenge the Amir of Qatar or criticize him or publish any statement referring to him without a written permit from the director of his office.

Article (47): It is not permissible to publish:

One: Anything that might motivate a coup against the ruling system in the country or insult it or harm the higher interests of the state. Two: Anything that might expose the safety and internal or external security of the state to danger. Any invitation or propagation for adopting ruinous principles. Three: News of the armed forces, units, movements, artillery and individuals. In general, anything that relates to the military and strategic aspects, unless written approval is granted in advance from the armed Forces Headquarter. Four: News of official secret contacts, international treaties and agreements until they are ratified, without special written permission from the Prints and Publications Administration. Five; all that touches the reputation of the states presidents or hinders the smoothness of the state's relations with Arab and friendly countries. Six; Any point of view that expresses sarcasm or contempt for any of the divine religions or one of its sects, or assists in invoking the spread of any sectarian, racial or religious fanaticism. Seven; all that damages the status of the national currency or confusion of impressions about the economic status of the state. Eight; anything that contradicts the country's ethics, or harms public morals and decencies or denigrates the dignity of people or their personal freedom. Nine; anything that provokes the commitment of crimes or hatred or diffuse the spirit of dissension between the individuals society. Ten; Minutes of investigations and trials of cases of personal issues unless the concerned court has permitted their

publication. Eleven; anything that damages the reputation of somebody, his wealth or commercial name with the purpose of defaming him or forcing him to pay money or provide some benefit to another person, or prohibiting him from doing his work. Twelve; News of bankruptcy of merchants, commercial houses, banks or money exchanges, except with a special permit from the concerned court. Thirteen; that which impugns the work of the public employee as slander against him, unless it is proved that the writer is intentions were good when he wrote this and that he thought that the statements he said about that public employee were correct, provided that this belief was based on reasonable reasons and after investigations and verification and that his intention was the protection of public interests. Fourteen; All news or articles or documents which the Minister of Information has notified the editor-in-chief or the print press owner not to publish.

Section Five: Distribution & Circulation of Publications

Article (48); It is a condition for practicing the business of importing or exporting or distributing publications in Qatar, to acquire a written license from the Prints & Publications Administration. The licensing request should include the following data and information: One; Name of the license applicant, his age, and place of birth, nationality and place of residence. Two; The commercial name he will assume. Three; Names and addressees of the bookshops or newsagents' the publications and distribution places in which he will perform his activity, whether, public centre, agency or branch.

Article (49); Any changes occurring in the data or information included in the licensing application (Article 48) should be reported to the Prints & Publications Administration with eight days. The Prints & Publications Administration has the right to cancel the license if the changes, result in the contradiction of any provision of the law.

Article (50); If the applicant for licensing the selling and distribution of prints is a regular company, its authorized manager should sign the application. If it is a joint stock company the chairman of the board or his deputy or the associate member should sign the application. In such cases, the application should be attached with a list of names of the board members, their nationalities and their places of residence. A company of the basic system of the company and its commercial register should also be attached with the application.

Article (51); Each owner of a print distribution house, company or office, should attach with his licensing request a financial deposit of three thousand Riyals as a guarantee for covering any fines or expenses which are incurred in case any violation of the provisions of this law are committed. This financial deposit can be exchanged for a bank guarantee.

Article (52); The owner of the distribution house or its responsible manager, should complete the financial deposit or the bank guarantee whenever it is reduced due to the deduction of penalties or the expenses referred to in Article (51) If the owner of the house or its responsible manager does not automatically complete the deposit or guarantee, he will be forced to complete it within eight days from the date of receiving a notification from the Prints & Publications Administration to do so. The Prints & Publications Administration has the right to cancel the license of the distribution house if its owner or

the responsible manager does not make up the amount deducted from the deposit or bank guarantee.

Article (53): It is not permissible to open, operate or use a house, library or place for selling or distributing any prints, whatever kind, whether local or foreign, before acquiring the permit referred to in Article (48)

Article (54): With consideration of provisions of law No (9) of the year 1969 regarding the peddler, the Prints and Publications Administration can permit the sale of publication, whether local or foreign, through distributors and peddlers. Every peddler permitted to sell publications is given a license from the Prints & Publications Administration, according to the conditions and status decided by the Minister of Information by decree.

Article (55): Sales people are prohibited from promoting the sales of publications with false news or which contain anything indecent or which contradict public ethics and morals or offend the national or religious feelings.

Article (56): The import and circulation of Holy Koran books or parts of it, whether in the form of printed matters or audio material, is totally prohibited without special permit from the Prints & Publications Administration. It is a condition that the imported copies of the Holy Koran or its parts, should be approved for circulation by one of the concerned authorities in the Arab or Islamic countries from where it has been imported, and that this approval should be approved by the concerned parties for the Religious affairs in the state of Qatar.

Article (57): Every house distributing or circulating prints must deliver two gratis copies of each publications, being imported by it, free of cost, to the Prints & Publications Administration, against a receipt.

Article (58): The Director of the Prints & Publications has the right, after the approval of the Minister of Information, to censor or omit from any publication, local or imported, any item, article, research or comment or any part of it that contains whatever is prohibited from publication according to the provisions of Article four of this law. The omission can be done by removing the offending material or blacking it out using ink or any other suitable means. If the omission becomes difficult, the director of the Prints & Publications Administration, after the approval of the Minister of Information, has the right to issue a decree prohibiting the circulation of that print and this decree is not liable for appeal in any Judicial court.

Article (59): It is completely prohibited to distribute and/or sell the prints which are printed in Qatar or imported from outside before the written approval of the Prints & Publications Administration for its circulation. Sticking of any publications on walls or throwing them on roads or exhibiting them at the fronts of public places or in visible locations inside shops and other places is considered by this article to be some sort of circulation.

Article (60): The owner of the Company or person or its responsible manager should deliver four free copies of the materials being printed in Qatar to the Qatar's Books House after being approved by the Prints & Publications Administration for circulation.

Article (61): Every library, house or establishment or place for publications distribution or selling, should supply the Prints & Publications Administration every four months with a list containing the names of publications available from it and the types of subjects contained in them.

Section Six: Commissions of control Over The Artistic Classifications

Article (62): A commission or commissions are established to keep control over the artistic classification, under the Prints & Publications Administration, and are to be composed as follows: One: A chairman being selected from the senior staff of the Prints & Publications Administration. Two: Four rational persons, selected by the Minister of Information. Three: A representative from each of the following ministries: Education, Interior, and Labour & Social Affairs selected by their ministers. The commission is established by decree issued by the Minister of Information. This decree specifies the duties, responsibilities, the system of work and scope of control of this commission. Its secretariat work is done by one of the employees of the Prints & Publications Administration.

Article (63): It is not permissible, in a public show, to exhibit any artistically classified material before acquiring a permit for that from the control commission. This permit consists two copies: one copy to be attached with the material being approved for exhibition and the other is kept with the control commission. If the committee decides to omit a scene or paragraph from the material or prohibit it from circulation, the whole will be submitted to the Director of the Prints & Publications Administration to take the necessary action according to article (58) of this law.

Article (64): The Prints & Publications Administration has the right to issue directives to the party importing and distributing the artistically classified materials in the state of Qatar, with the purpose of selecting material of good artistic, social, religious, moral and cultural quality. The intention is to protect the country's ethics, morals and public norms and upgrade the overall cultural level of its people.

Article (65): The concerned control commission and those it deputises from among its members will make random, unscheduled visits to cinemas and theatres all over the state of Qatar, to make sure that the movies shown and the plays performed are according to what has been permitted by the control committee.

Section Seven: The Penalties

Article (66): Any breach of the provisions of Articles (2), (7), (8), (10), (13), (22), (29) second clause, will be penalized with either not more than six month imprisonment or fine not exceeding three thousand Riyals, or both.

Article (67): Any breach of the provisions of Articles (9), (11), (12), (14), will be punished by imprisonment for either not more than three month or a fine not more than two thousand Riyals, or both.

Article (68): The editor in chief or the responsible editors will be penalized by imprisonment for not more than one month or not more than a one thousand Riyal fine, or both, if the publication refuses to execute the decree of the a Minister of Information to publish what has been mentioned in article (21). If publication becomes difficult after the issuance of the final verdict regarding the punishment referred to in the previous Article, the concerned party has the right to publish his reply in another publication and will bare the cost of these.

Article (69): Any breach of the provisions of Articles (16), (17) will be penalized by a fine of not more than one thousand Riyals.

Article (70): Any breach of the provisions of Articles (6), (15), (18), (19), (23) will be penalized by a fine of not more than three hundred Riyals.

Article (71): Any breach of the provisions of Articles (2), (4), (7), (8), (13), (14), will allow the administrative destruction of the publication issues. The verdict issued may state the confiscation of these issues.

Article (72): In case of conviction for the breach of the provisions of Articles (2), (7), (8), the judge can issue a verdict to close the publications house.

Article (73): In case of conviction for breaching the provisions of Articles (13), (14), the judge can decide to close the publication for a maximum period of 15 days if it is issued three times or more per week, or for one month if it is issued weekly, or for one year in other cases.

Article (74): The editor in chief or the responsible editors and the owner or the publisher will be penalized by imprisonment for a period of not more than six month and/or fine not exceeding three thousand Riyals, if they continue a fined publishing the publication under its name or new name after a decree or a verdict is issued to stop it from publication or suspend it or cancelling its licence or closing it.

Article (75): Any breach of provisions of Articles (30), (31), (32), (34), (39), (40), (42) and ever will be penalized either by imprisonment for a period of not more than three months or a fine not exceeding two thousand Riyals or both.

Article (76): Any breach of the provisions of articles (33), (43), (44), will be penalized with either imprisonment for a period of not more than one month or a fine not exceeding one thousand Riyals, or both.

Article (77): Any beach of provisions of Articles (35), (36), (38), (45), will be penalized with a fine not exceeding three hundred Riyals.

Article (78): In the case of breaching the provisions of Articles (30), (32), (39), (40), (42), (45) the publications can be administratively closed. The verdict can include the confiscation of the publications.

Article (79): In the case of conviction for breaching the provisions of Articles (30), (32), (34), (39), (42), the judge can issue a verdict to close the company or person or the publication house.

Article (80): Who ever breaches the provisions of paragraphs a, b, f, m of Article (47) will be treated on the basis of the state's criminal law.

Article (81): Without contradicting any other severe punishment stated in any other law, whoever breaches the provisions of Article (46) and paragraphs c, d, e, g, h, i of Article (47), will either be imprisoned for not more than six month or receive a fine not exceeding three thousand Riyals or both.

Article (82): Any breach for the provision of paragraphs j, k, l, n of Article (47) will be penalized by either not more than one months imprisonment or a fine not exceeding one thousand Riyals or both.

Article (83): In the case of breaching Articles (46), (47), it will be permissible to confiscate the publications administratively as well as the equipment used for its printing including the originals.

Article (84): In the case of conviction for breaching any of the provisions of Articles (46), (47), the judge can order the closure of the publication house or the company or person or the distribution house, whatever be the case.

Article (85): The maximum penalty stated in Articles (81), (82) will be doubled in case the breach is repeated.

Article (86): Any breach of provision of Articles (48), (49), (53), (56) will be penalized by imprisonment for a period not exceeding three month or a fine of not more than two thousand Riyals or both.

Article (87): Any breach of provisions of Articles (52), (54), (57), (60), (61) will be penalized by a fine not exceeding a hundred Riyals.

Article (88): In the case of breaching any of the provisions of Articles (48), (49), (53), (54), (56), (59), it will be permissible to confiscate the publications and the equipment and materials used in its printing, including the originals if the prints are printed inside Qatar. The judge can issue a verdict to appropriate these prints and destroy the originals and the melds.

Article (89): In the case of conviction for breaching any of the provisions of articles (48), (53), (56), (59) the judge can issue a verdict closing the Printing house.

Article (90): Any breach of provision of Article (63) will be penalized by either not more than six month imprisonment and a fine not exceeding two thousand Riyals or both.

Article (91): In the case of breaching any provision of Article (63), it will be permissible to confiscate the artistic material administratively. The issued verdict can also include the appropriation of the artistic material.

Article (92): In the case of conviction for breaching any of the provision of Article (63), the judge can order the closure of the movie house or theatre for not more than three months.

Section Eight; General Provision

Article (93): The grand punishment court will be concerned with the judgment on crime stated in section seven and its verdicts can be appealed against in of the court of Appeal. The general complaints against these crimes will be dropped after the elapse of three months from the date of publication or distribution in Qatar. The complaint for compensation is dropped if not submitted by the wronged person within the above-mentioned period, unless there have been forceful circumstances that prevented him from submitting the complaint.

Article (94): The Minister of Information has the right to warn the editor-in-chief if he published in his publication material that breaches this law. This warning will not exempt him from the legal trial by the criminal court.

Article (95): All the warnings, decisions and verdicts issued for stopping the issue of publications, suspending it, cancelling its licence or closing it, will be published on the official gazette.

Article (96): The provisions of this law do not apply to the print houses owned by the state or the publications and all other types of prints issued by the different corporations. It does not also apply to schools publications, books, prints, bulletins issued or imported by the government for the purposes of schools, institutes or colleges.

Article (97): All persons involved in the jobs stated in this law, when issued, should be aware of its provisions, act in accordance with it, and acquire the necessary licenses, within six month from the validity of this law. It is possible, through a decree issued by the Minister of Information, to allow an additional time limit not exceeding six month for those who need it.

Article (98): whatever the law was inadvertently omitted will be enacted by ministerial decree. The minister of Information issues the necessary laws and the executive decisions.

Article (99): The authorized staff of the Prints & Publication Administration, based on a decree issued by the Minister of Information, can have the authority in implementing the provisions of this law and demonstration of crimes occurring as a breach of it, its laws and executive decisions the authority of a court to implement the provisions of this law to act against crimes in breach of its rules.

Article (100): When this law is breached an employee of the prints and publications administrations will supply the appropriate police centre with all necessary documentation for the implementation of the law.

Article (101): The decree with law No 11 for the year 1966 regarding the organization of control over the prints and its amending laws, and the law No 10 for the year 1969 regarding the organization of the press, amended by law No 14 for the year 1970, is being cancelled and so are all provisions contradicting the provisions of this law.

Article (102): All the concerned parties, in every field, should apply this law, and it is considered valid from the date it is published in the official gazette.

Ministry of Justice, (1992), *Printing & Publishing Act No.(8)1979, Legislation of Qatar*, (Doha, Advise and Legislation Department).

Appendix Two

Questionnaire

No. ()

University of Glamorgan
School of Humanities
and Social Sciences
Section of Media Studies

Press Freedom In Qatar

This questionnaire is designed to facilitate an investigation into the Press Freedom In Qatar. Your valuable information will help in the successful completion of this academic study.

Note:

Please respond to the statement below by putting check mark (✓) on the scale: 1 means you strongly disagree, No. 2 means disagree, No. 3 means Sometime, No. 4 means agree No. 5 means you strongly agree.

The researcher
Ahmad AL-Hajri

Informed consent form

I, the undersigned, consent to the use of information obtained

Name:.....
Age:.....
Sex:.....
Nationality:.....
Occupation:.....
Name of Journal:.....
Level of qualification:.....
Length of time in the past:.....
Date:.....
Signature:.....

Section One Press Freedom:	1	2	3	4	5
1-Press freedom is freedom from pre-publication censorship.					
2-Press freedom is freedom from post-publication censorship.					
3-Press freedom is freedom from direct interference by government.					
4-Press freedom is freedom from laws restraining investigations.					
5-Press freedom is freedom from fear of imprisonment for expressing your views.					
6-Press freedom is freedom from dependence on government finance.					
7-Press freedom is freedom from dependence on advertising revenue.					
Section Two Political Issues:	1	2	3	4	5
8-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of political issues in the Qatari press has not changed					
9-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of political issues in the Qatari press has changed in minor ways					
10-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of political issues in the Qatari press has changed considerably.					
11-The press can discuss political issues now which it was not able to discuss prior to 1995					
12-The press does not discuss political issues now which it was not able to discuss prior to 1995.					
Section Three Government Issues:	1	2	3	4	5
13-The press is now more openly critical of the government than it was before 1995.					
14-The press is less critical of the government than it was before 1995.					
15-The press is no more, nor less critical of the government than it was before 1995.					

Section Four Economic Issues:	1	2	3	4	5
16-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of economic issues in the Qatari press has not changed.					
17-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of economic issues in the Qatari press has changed in minor ways.					
18-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of economic issues in the Qatari press has changed considerably.					
Section Five Moral/Religious Issues:	1	2	3	4	5
19-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of moral issues in the Qatari press has not changed.					
20-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of moral issues in the Qatari press has changed in minor ways.					
21-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of moral issues in the Qatari press has changed considerably.					
22-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of religious issues in the Qatari press has not changed.					
23-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of religious issues in the Qatari press has changed in minor ways.					
24-Since the 1995 press law the coverage of religious issues in the Qatari press has changed considerably.					

Appendix Three

استبيان
() رقم

جامعة غلامورجان
كلية الأنسابات و العلوم الأتماعيه
قسم الدراسات الاعلاميه

حريه الصحافه في قطر

تهدف هذه الدراسه الى جمع معلومات حول الصحف القطريه للاستعانه بها في اعداد رساله ماجستير في الدراسات الاعلاميه المقدمه الى جامعه غلامورجان وعنوانها (حريه الصحافه في قطر). لذلك يامل الباحث الاجابه على الاسئله الوارده في هذه الاستبانة بصدق و دون تحيز وبالتالي يعد المبحوثين بالسريه التامه و ان لا يستخدم المعلومات و الاراء التي يقدمونها الا في الاغراض العلميه وشكرا لتعاونكم .

ملاحظه عامه:

يرجى من كل زميل وضع علامه (√) امام الاحتمال الذي يراه مناسب. في الخانات الفارغه من ١ - ٥ ويعني رقم ١ غير موافق بشده والرقم ٢ غير موافق والرقم ٣ احيانا والرقم ٤ موافق اما الرقم ٥ فيعني موافق بشده.

الباحث أحمد الهاجري

تصريح

انا الموقع ادناه لايوجد عندي اي مانع في ان يستخدم الباحث هذه المعلومات في دراسته

الاسم:.....
العمر:.....
الجنس:.....
الجنسية:.....
اسم الجريده:.....
الوظيفه:.....
المستوى التعليمي:.....
الخبره العمليه:.....
التاريخ:.....
التوقيع:.....

القسم الأول: حرية الصحافة:					
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	
					١- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من رقابة قبل الطبع؟
					٢- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من رقابة بعد الطبع؟
					٣- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من تدخل الحكومة المباشر؟
					٤- حرية الصحافة تعني حرية من القوانين التي تقيد البحث؟
					٥- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من خوف الاعتقال عند التعبير عن آرائك؟
					٦- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من الاعتماد من دعم الحكومة المالي؟
					٧- حرية الصحافة هي حرية من الاعتماد من عائد الإعلانات التجارية؟
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	القسم الثاني السياسي:
					٨- التغطية للقضايا السياسية في الصحافة القطرية لم تتغير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					٩- التغطية للقضايا السياسية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغيير بشكل بسيط بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					١٠- التغطية للقضايا السياسية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغيير بشكل كبير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					١١- الصحافة الآن تستطيع ان تناقش القضايا السياسية التي لم تكن قادره على مناقشتها قبل ١٩٩٥؟
					١٢- الصحافة الآن لاتناقش القضايا السياسية التي لم تكن قادره على مناقشتها قبل ١٩٩٥؟
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	القسم الثالث القضايا الحكومية:
					١٣- الصحافة الآن تستطيع ان تنتقد الحكومة بدرجة اكبر مما كانت عليه قبل ١٩٩٥؟
					١٤- الصحافة الآن تستطيع ان تنتقد الحكومة بدرجة اقل مما كانت عليه قبل ١٩٩٥؟
					١٥- ظلت الصحافة بعد ٩٥ كسابق عهدها لازياده ولا نقصان من حيث انتقادها للحكومة؟

القسم الرابع القضايا الاقتصادية					
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	
					١٦-التغطية للقضايا الاقتصادية في الصحافة القطرية لم تتغير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة ؟
					١٧-التغطية للقضايا الاقتصادية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل بسيط بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					١٨-التغطية للقضايا الاقتصادية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل كبير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة ؟
٥	٤	٣	٢	١	القسم الخامس القضايا الاخلاقية-الدينية:
					١٩-التغطية للقضايا الاخلاقية في الصحافة القطرية لم يتغير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					٢٠-التغطية للقضايا الاخلاقية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل بسيط بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					٢١-التغطية للقضايا الاخلاقية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل كبير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة ؟
					٢٢-التغطية للقضايا الدينية في الصحافة القطرية لم يتغير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة ؟
					٢٣-التغطية للقضايا الدينية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل بسيط بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟
					٢٤-التغطية للقضايا الدينية في الصحافة القطرية حصل فيه تغير بشكل كبير بعد قانون ٩٥ (الغاء الرقابة) للصحافة؟

Appendix Four

Interview

No. ()

University of Glamorgan
School of Humanities
and Social Sciences
Section of Media Studies

Press Freedom In Qatar

This Interview is designed to facilitate an investigation into the Press Freedom In Qatar.
Your valuable information will help in the successful completion of this academic study.

The researcher
Ahmad AL-Hajri

Informed consent form

I, the undersigned, consent to the use of information obtained

Name.....
Age:.....
Sex:.....
Nationality:.....
Occupation:.....
Name of Journal:.....
Level of qualification:.....
Length of time in the past:.....
Date:.....
Signature.....

A-1979 effects:

1-What were the effects of the 1979 Law on the Qatari media? Could you tell me what the censor did? Were there any restraints, controls or suffering facing the Qatari media?

2-Did the control Department censor the broadcasting and TV? What were the principles and criteria against which these materials were checked?

B-The abolition of censorship

3-Are there any changes after abolition of censorship?

4-Is it difficult to monitor live programmes than pre-recorded programmes? Were there any non-government financiers? Was there any control or censorship applied to ownership? As an extension of this freedom offered to the media were any foreign channels transmitted from Qatar and if so what were they? Was there any impact of journalist's organizations and other channels on broadcasting and TV?

C-The law post 1995:

5-Why has the new printing and publishing act been delayed? Is the 1979 law still valid? If the journalists are aware of this, have they been given any guidelines to follow during this interim period? Who is responsible for the content?

6-What department of the government does the Printing and Publishing Department come under?

Appendix Five

مقابلات

() رقم

جامعة غلامورجان
كلية الأنسابات و العلوم الأجماعية
قسم الدراسات الاعلامية

حرية الصحافة في قطر

تهدف هذه الدراسة الى جمع معلومات حول الصحف القطرية للاستعانة بها في اعداد رساله ماجستير في الدراسات الاعلامية المقدمة الى جامعة غلامورجان وعنوانها (حرية الصحافة في قطر). لذلك يامل الباحث الاجابه على الاسئلة الواردة في هذه المقابلات بصدق و دون تحيز وبالتالي يعد المبحوثين بالسريه التامه و ان لا يستخدم المعلومات و الاراء التي يقدمونها الا في الاغراض العلميه وشكرا لتعاونكم .

الباحث أحمد الهاجري

تصريح

انا الموقع ادناه لايوجد عندي اي مانع في ان يستخدم الباحث هذه المعلومات في دراسته

الاسم:.....
العمر:.....
الجنس:.....
الجنسية:.....
اسم الجريدة:.....
الوظيفة:.....
المستوى التعليمي:.....
الخبرة العملية:.....
التاريخ:.....
التوقيع:.....

ا-تأثير قانون ١٩٧٩

١- ماهو تأثير قانون ١٩٧٩ على الصحافة القطريه؟ ماهو عمل المراقب؟ ماهي المشاكل والمعائنه التي كانت تواجه الصحافة؟

٢- هل اداره الرقابه تمارس عملها على الاذاعه والتلفزيون؟ ماهي المبادئ والمعايير التي تراقب بها المواد الاعلاميه؟

ب-الغاء الرقابه:

٣- هل يوجد تغير بعد الغاء الرقابه؟

٤- هل توجد صعوبه في مراقبه البرامج المباشره اكثر من البرامج المسجله؟ هل يوجد اي تمويل غير حكومي؟ هل توجد اي سيطره او مراقبه من الملاك؟ هل انت الحريه لوجود قنوات اخرى وماهي؟ وهل يوجد اي تأثير لوسائل اعلاميه اخرى على الاذاعه والتلفزيون؟

ج-القانون بعد ١٩٩٥

٥- لماذا تاخر قانون الصحافة الجديد بعد ١٩٩٥؟ وهل مازال قانون ١٩٧٩ يعمل به؟ وهل كان هناك توضيح للصحفيين عن هذا الوضع؟ ومن المسؤول عن محتوى الصحافة؟

٦- الى من تتبع اداره المطبوعات والنشر؟